# AN ADMIRAL'S LOG

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA



REAR-ADMIRAL ROBLEY D. EVANS.

# AN ADMIRAL'S LOG

*Being Continued Recollections of Naval Life*

By

ROBLEY D. EVANS

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"A Sailor's Log"

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# INTRODUCTION

When "A Sailor's Log" was published, I felt that I had written enough about myself. Some people even went so far as to say that I had written too much. Now that I am retired and have plenty of time on my hands, I have concluded, at the earnest request of my publishers and many other friends, to write a sequel to "A Sailor's Log," "An Admiral's Log," and in it relate such incidents as may be of interest to the general public. With this in view, I will take up the story of my life after the Spanish War and complete it up to the date of my retirement from active service at the age of sixty-two years.

Robley D. Evans.

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# AN ADMIRAL'S LOG

## CHAPTER I

### THE SAMPSON–SCHLEY CONTROVERSY

After the Spanish War, when the North Atlantic Squadron went to New York and was reviewed in the harbour there, the press and the people of the country seemed well pleased with what we had done, and gave us unstinted praise. Great courtesy was shown both officers and men whenever they went on shore; but after a short time this condition began to change and soon there was a bitter paper war raging all over the country, as to whether Sampson or Schley was entitled to the credit for winning the battle fought off Santiago, July 3, 1898. The officers and men of the navy were practically a unit in favour of Sampson; but a majority of the newspapers favoured Schley. The discussion was carried into the halls of Congress when the President asked promotion for certain officers of the fleet, and, once there, it soon developed a political phase which eventually prevented any advancement for either of the flag officers interested. The captains, executive officers, and chief engineers of the ships engaged were advanced a few numbers, and there the matter rested for a time.

Mr. Maclay, a writer on naval history who has

prepared several text-books for the Naval Academy, wrote an account of the battle of Santiago in which he used most violent and abusive language regarding Schley. Muck-raking and mud-slinging had been pretty general in the press all over the country, and every officer and man in the fight had been more or less bespattered by one side or the other; but this attack on Schley was more personal and vicious than anything that had preceded it, and there was little surprise when the commodore made it the ground of official complaint, and demanded that a court of his brother officers be ordered to inquire into his conduct during the campaign in the West Indies.

A court of inquiry was accordingly ordered to meet at the Washington Navy Yard, and, after two officers had been relieved at the request of Commodore Schley, was composed as follows: Admiral Dewey, Admiral Bentham, and Admiral Ramsay, with Captain S. C. Lemly, Judge-Advocate General of the Navy, as recorder. Commodore Schley was defended by counsel of recognised legal ability. The sessions of the court were held in a large room in one of the shops of the navy yard, were open to the public, and as a rule were attended by crowds of people, mostly women and newspaper correspondents. Every officer and man who could throw any light on the subject before the court, was summoned, examined, and cross-examined. The daily papers were filled with the evidence and the comments of those who were interested in making it appear to the advantage of one side or the other, until every one was thoroughly sick, I think, of the mud-slinging affair.

My sympathies were well known to be on the side of Admiral Sampson, for I made no effort to conceal them; but I was often surprised at the way I was abused in the newspapers for the things I had not said or done, as well as for those I had; and I am sure that my experience was exactly that of many other officers. It was a washing of navy linen in public, the like of which had never before been seen, certainly not in my time.

After sitting several months and hearing much evidence, the inquiry was concluded. The opinion of the court was as follows:

### Opinion

"Commodore Schley, in command of the Flying Squadron, should have proceeded with utmost despatch off Cienfuegos, and should have maintained a close blockade of that port.

"He should have endeavoured on May 23d, at Cienfuegos, to obtain information regarding the Spanish squadron by communicating with the insurgents at the place designated in the memorandum delivered to him at 8.15 A.M. of that date.

"He should have proceeded from Cienfuegos to Santiago de Cuba with all despatch, and should have disposed his vessels with a view of intercepting the enemy in any attempt to pass the Flying Squadron.

"He should not have delayed the squadron for the Eagle.

"He should not have made the retrograde turn westward with his squadron.

"He should have promptly obeyed the Navy Department's order of May 25th.

"He should have endeavoured to capture or destroy

the Spanish vessels at anchor near the entrance of Santiago Harbour on May 29th and 30th.

"He did not do his utmost with the force under his command to capture or destroy the Colon and other vessels of the enemy which he attacked on May 31st.

"By commencing the engagement on July 3d with the port battery and turning the Brooklyn around with port helm, Commodore Schley caused her to lose distance and position with the Spanish vessels, especially with the Vizcaya and Colon.

"The turn of the Brooklyn to starboard was made to avoid getting her into dangerous proximity to the Spanish vessels. The turn was made toward the Texas, and caused that vessel to stop and to back her engines to avoid possible collision.

"Admiral Schley did injustice to Lieutenant-Commander A. C. Hodgson in publishing only a portion of the correspondence which passed between them.

"Commodore Schley's conduct in connection with the events of the Santiago campaign prior to June 1, 1898, was characterised by vacillation, dilatoriness, and lack of enterprise.

"His official reports regarding the coal supply and the coaling facilities of the Flying Squadron were inaccurate and misleading.

"His conduct during the battle of July 3d was self-possessed, and he encouraged, in his own person, his subordinate officers and men to fight courageously."

To this opinion of the court Admiral Dewey added his own opinion, as follows:

"Commodore Schley was the senior officer of our squadron off Santiago when the Spanish squadron attempted to escape on the morning of July 3, 1898. He was in absolute command, and is entitled to the

credit due to such commanding officer for the glorious victory which resulted in the total destruction of the Spanish ships."

RECOMMENDATION

"In view of the length of time which has elapsed since the occurrence of the events of the Santiago campaign, the court recommends no further proceedings be had in the premises."

The Secretary of the Navy, in approving the findings of fact and opinion of the full court, remarks as follows:

"As to the points on which the presiding member differs from the opinion of the majority of the court, the opinion of the majority is approved.

"As to the further expression of his views by the same member, with regard to the questions of command on the morning of July 3, 1898, and of the title to credit for the ensuing victory, the conduct of the court in making no finding and rendering no opinion on those questions is approved—indeed, it could with propriety take no other course, evidence on these questions during the inquiry having been excluded by the court."

This opinion of the Secretary of the Navy—indeed, the whole finding of the court—met with the approval of the officers of the navy as a body. Commodore Schley and his legal adviser did all in their power to induce the President to place his disapproval on these proceedings; but they failed completely, and he finally approved them. The press of the country for many months continued its abuse of the one side or the other, and Congress failed to do anything for the promotion

of either of the flag officers interested. Admiral Sampson died without the least recognition or reward from the country for the splendid campaign he had fought. In common with those of us who stood by him, he received unstinted abuse from many newspapers, whose editors showed their courage by abusing officers by name without disclosing their own identity. But the newspapers were not the only offenders. One has only to read the debates in Congress to see how senators and representatives showed their gallantry by attacking officers by name, knowing full well that these same officers could not in any way reply to them.

Worse even than these thrusts from Congress and the press were the letters of creatures calling themselves men, dirty blackguards who wrote to Mrs. Sampson even after the death of her gallant husband to tell her in vile terms what they thought of him. Great numbers of these letters came to me and other friends, and upon us men they made no impression except that of disgust for their writers; but when we learned the number and character of those sent to that lady, we were shocked and disappointed that that number of American men could so disgrace their manhood.

As a direct result of this unfortunate controversy, the service at large suffered greatly. The position of vice-admiral, to which Admiral Sampson was entitled, and to which President McKinley asked Congress to advance him, has remained vacant to this day. Certainly the navy, as a service, was entitled to this recognition, and if Sampson was not the man for it, then some other deserving flag officer should have been selected and promoted. The corresponding rank in the

army was promptly filled, and many officers of that service have been retired with the rank of lieutenant-general, which corresponds with vice-admiral in the navy. It cannot be justly claimed that officers of the army did more brilliant or valuable service during the Spanish War than did those of the navy, and, if their promotion be placed on the ground of service in the Civil War, I think we may fairly claim that Sampson, Schley, Philip, Higginson, and many others were quite as prominent in that war as were the officers of the army who have been advanced to the grade of lieutenant-general and retired with that rank. The only explanation which seems to explain is that the army is more fortunate in its congressional committees than is the navy. We congratulate our brother officers of the army on their well-deserved promotions; but we feel at the same time that we have not been justly treated, and all because of a newspaper war inaugurated and fought out as a matter of spite against one of the ablest officers the navy has ever produced.

## CHAPTER II

### ORDERED TO THE ISLAND OF SAMOA

ONE day in the month of October, 1901, I was ordered to report in person to the Secretary of the Navy, as he wished to see me on a matter of importance. Upon presenting myself, I was informed that I was to proceed to the island of Samoa as president of a general court-martial to try the governor of the island on very serious charges of misconduct. Samoa and Guam, two of our island possessions, were then, and still are, controlled by the Navy Department through a governor, a naval officer, appointed by the Secretary of the Navy.

The charges against the governor were not shown to me at the time; but the general tenor of them was explained. If the government could establish its case there could be little doubt of what the finding of the court would be; but it seemed to me that the list of witnesses disclosed did not promise a conviction, and I so expressed myself. At the same time I warned the chief of the Bureau of Navigation that the government must be prepared to establish the fact of the misconduct of the governor beyond any reasonable doubt, as he was an officer of excellent reputation, and I felt sure the court, which was composed of high ranking officers, would require the most positive evidence before finding

him guilty. It was a matter of very considerable expense to send so large a court so long a distance, and, unless the governor was actually guilty, it seemed a waste of money to do so.

I asked a number of questions about the case, and soon became satisfied that there was something peculiar about the way the charges had been prepared; but the only real information I could get was that I was asking too many questions, that the Navy Department had drawn the charges to suit itself, and that I was to proceed as president of the court and try the case in obedience to my orders, which were there and then handed to me.

Upon leaving the Department I was much surprised to meet the governor himself face to face. He was one whom I had known for many years, and was at the time on leave from his station at Samoa. He informed me in a few words of his trouble, and that he had no idea who had reported him or the nature of the charges. When I informed him that I had been ordered on the court to try him, of course, he said nothing more about his case, and I did not see him again until he was arraigned before the court at Samoa.

The day following my orders to this unpleasant duty, the President sent for me to come to the White House and there detailed to me certain information he required about matters in Honolulu. He directed me to stop over a couple of weeks at the Sandwich Islands on my way back from Samoa, and on my return to Washington to report to him fully on the points he indicated, and also to collect for him, while in Honolulu, the information he desired. He felt, and I agreed

with him, that as a naval officer on important court-martial duty I could do what he wanted done without causing comment or excitement. It was only necessary to use ordinary common sense and to keep my eyes open, and I felt competent to do both. Honolulu was a long way from Washington, and it seemed most difficult for the President to get the facts he wanted uncoloured by party prejudice.

In order that we might reach our destination with some degree of comfort, the Navy Department ordered the naval transport Solace to be in readiness in San Francisco to receive the court. She was about making one of her regular trips to Manila, and after landing us at Samoa she was to continue on her way, leaving us to make our way back as best we could. The important thing in the eyes of the Department was the trial and conviction of the governor of Samoa, and after they had done that the court could wander about the South Sea Islands endlessly, as far as any transportation home by the Navy Department was indicated.

When the court reported on board the Solace at San Francisco, it was apparent to all that the case was considered a most important one, as was shown by the number of high ranking officers composing the court. Our luggage was soon stowed, and we were promptly off to sea. All possible care was taken for our comfort, and after a pleasant run of seven days, during which time the Solace showed us what real rolling meant, we arrived at Honolulu. Here we remained two days discharging freight and fighting mosquitoes, and then willingly went on our way.

The run down to Samoa was uneventful, the

weather fine, and the sea like an inland lake. As we approached the island, the rain set in and continued with little intermission until we were again clear of the land on our way back to Honolulu. The entrance to the harbour of Pago Pago is very beautiful, entirely tropical in appearance, and well suited for defensive batteries, which one would expect to find, as the harbour contains an expensive coaling station on which the Navy Department places a high value. Some distance from the land is found the usual atoll, or coral reef, so common in the South Seas, and through this by a wide opening one reaches the channel, leading in between bold headlands to the port. The harbour is made by the crater of an extinct volcano, is small, perfectly protected, and very beautiful. The high lands, or mountains, surrounding the harbour are very bold and abrupt, and densely covered with tropical vegetation. Only one or two trails pass over them, and there are no roads fit for wheeled vehicles of any sort, which is not important, as there are no such things. All travelling is on foot, and usually the feet are bare, as any kind of footgear would stand little chance in the stiff, sticky mud which always covers the ground. In the rainy season it rains all the time, and in the dry season only four or five times a day. The Rainmaker, one of the bold, rugged mountains in front of the village, always gives warning of a coming shower. At such times a mist, more or less dense, always covers the top of the mountain; hence, its name.

When we arrived we found the admiral, commander-in-chief of the Pacific Fleet, in port on board his flagship, the battleship Wisconsin. The court was

promptly organised, and received from the admiral the charges prepared by the Navy Department, to which he had, as directed, added one or two. As president of the court, I took the liberty of suggesting to him, as I had the right to do, that he withdraw the charges he had himself prepared, as I was satisfied after reading them that there was no evidence to sustain them. He declined to do this, and they were presented to the court exactly as they had been drawn. The court adjourned for three days to allow the defence time to prepare their case, and the members took advantage of this time to see what they could of this far-away possession of ours and its inhabitants.

I found the people without exception the handsomest physical specimens I had ever seen. Owing to their isolated geographical position, they had escaped entirely the loathsome diseases that are so common in most seaports. Their skins were of a beautiful bronze colour, and their muscular development wonderfully perfect. They had no scars or blemishes, except now and then the mark of a bolo cut or thrust, and they moved with the graceful motion common to highly trained athletes. They were, indeed, veritable living bronze statues, and very much alive at that.

The only practicable means of communication between the different villages on the island, of which there were a dozen or more, was by boats, and the people, men, women, and children, were, as a rule, good sailors, and their boats were well fitted for the hard weather they had to encounter. A few trails led about over the mountains; but on account of the mud these were only used when a water route was impracticable. A plan

had been completed by the governor and his staff for a road along the seashore, more, I imagine, to give a place for exercise than for any practical use.

When we assumed charge of these people, or it may be a short time before, the idea of clothing them properly, according to the notions of the missionaries, was advanced, and soon bore its legitimate fruit. In the climate in which they lived their own clothing, which consisted of a good coat of palm oil and a waist-clout, was an admirable protection, but this could not be tolerated for a moment in the face of our civilised habits, and the poor natives were clapped into woven dresses for the women and cheap shop clothes for the men. These clothes, wet always from force of surrounding weather conditions, soon brought pneumonia and kindred diseases, and many lives were sacrificed. I was amused to watch the people who came down to the dock every day for a swim. They came in great numbers, and all properly dressed, but when they reached the dock they would carefully take off their wet, gaudy-looking clothes, dive into the water, swim about like fishes, and then climb out onto the dock and, having replaced their wet clothing, go quietly about their business. It seemed to me that we had not done much real good to these excellent people by forcing upon them our ideas as to dress. Many thousands had died from eruptive diseases, principally measles and small-pox, and it was pathetic to see their dread of these disorders. Vaccination had, in a measure, removed one danger; but the other was a constant terror to these simple people.

For food they relied on tropical fruits and such fish

as they could secure. Meat was practically out of their diet list. Yams and sweet potatoes were in plenty, and yams and bananas were always at hand. Pineapples, the finest I have ever seen anywhere in the world, grew wild all over the island. Some were sent me that weighed twenty-five pounds each, and the flavour was equal to the best pine grown in Singapore. The water supply was ample and its quality excellent, so there was no good reason why any one should be sick.

On one of our off days, Munger, the head chief, gave us a reception, which I am sure was thoroughly enjoyed by every member of the court. The natives of the nearby villages had been invited to come in to see the distinguished Americans, and they came to the number of 800 or 1,000. We were assembled on the porch of one of the small government frame houses, out of the reach of the rain, which fell at times in torrents, and as the natives passed they deposited their simple gifts at our feet. Some gave a few eggs, others gave a live chicken, but most of them gave fruit or cocoanuts. Soon many hundreds of cocoanuts just off the trees were piled up; and it was most interesting to see the young men with their heavy, wicked-looking knives make three cuts at a cocoanut and then hand it to one to drink. In every case the three cuts were so accurately made that a small triangular piece of the shell was taken out, so that one could drink the milk without the least trouble or inconvenience. This milk was cool and most refreshing and wholesome.

Some of the native women had, in the meantime, prepared for us a native drink which was known as

*cava cava.* Formerly this drink was prepared by young women, who chewed strips of the root of the cava plant and deposited the macerated pulp in a wooden bowl, known as a cava bowl, where it was allowed to ferment for a certain time. Then the juice, which was more or less intoxicating, was ready for use. In our case, the chewing part of the preparation was dispensed with, and the beverage was produced by rubbing the cava roots in a bowl and adding water. When tasted, it proved to be an acrid, bitter-tasting drink, nothing like as pleasant as the cocoanut milk. As to its alcoholic properties, none of us drank enough to be able to give an opinion.

When all the natives were assembled, the chief gave us an exhibition of a war dance or drill, and it was exceedingly interesting. The warriors were in their native attire of palm oil and armed with very heavy, businesslike-looking knives; but in no case were fire-arms of any kind used. Various movements were executed, in every case accompanied by the beating of many drums, and finally a charge was ordered in which the warriors, plainly under a very strong excitement, indicated how the heads of their enemies would be made to part company with their bodies. When this show was ended, we were treated to a native dance, and then a very unusual and unlooked-for thing happened.

The governor who was about to be tried was very popular with the natives, who looked upon him as their "White Father." Since our arrival he had, of course, been under arrest, and could not be seen by any one. Somehow the impression had got abroad that we were

going to take him away from them. This did not in the least meet with their approval. When the native dance was finished, the chief and half a dozen of his finest men approached us with knives in their hands and scowls on their faces and demanded to know why their White Father was not among us. They said that all the people were unhappy and full of sorrow because of his absence, and they wanted to know what to say to them on the subject. For a few minutes it looked as if we might have serious trouble; but the commander-in-chief was entirely capable of handling the situation, and in a few well-chosen words sent the people on their way, satisfied that their beloved governor would receive kind and fair treatment.

I had a chance a few days later to inspect some of the native houses, and was struck with the ingenuity displayed in their construction. No nails or ironwork of any kind were used. The native hardwood, after being properly seasoned, was used for all purposes—posts, rafters, and flooring, where the latter was desirable. The roofing was thatch, which in this climate of constant rains had to be quite perfect. All upright and cross beams were pinned together and then lashed, and so well was this done that the buildings withstood the fearful hurricanes which were common about these islands.

The Navy Department had authorised the enlistment of one company of marines and one boat crew from the natives of the island, and I am perfectly safe in saying that I never saw a finer looking body of men or a better drilled lot. Their work as soldiers would compare most favourably with that of the best among

our regular troops, and the marine sergeant who had charge of them was entitled to great credit for his work. If our government ever resorts to colonial troops to do some of the serious work we have ahead of us in the tropics, I am sure a regiment, or maybe two, could be quickly raised in Samoa. The advantage of using them among our "little brown brothers" is apparent—they could use a rifle with effect and then show an aptitude in the jungle with a bolo quite equal to that of the natives of any of the Philippine Islands.

In due course of time the court met, the governor was arraigned, pleaded not guilty, and the trial began. The government produced three witnesses only, and of these two testified in favour of the accused, and the third, a medical expert, could not swear positively whether the accused was under the influence of an intoxicant or overcome by the heat. This closed the case of the prosecution, and the defence opened. The counsel for the defence submitted a list of something like one hundred witnesses they wanted to have called, and asked that a steamer be sent to some of the adjoining islands for those who could give important testimony bearing on the case. When we had heard fifteen or twenty of the most important witnesses, the court concluded the case by declaring the governor not guilty and most honourably acquitting him of the charges prepared. In all my experience with courts-martial I have never known a case so weak as this one was, nor one where there was so little ground for charges. Upon my return to Washington I ascertained how the whole matter came about. The general impression was that the

charges, or the complaint on which the charges were based, had in some way come from the missionaries, but this was not the case. A letter in a woman's handwriting was received by the Secretary of the Navy reciting certain bad conduct on the part of the governor. The Secretary cut off the name of the writer and then sent the letter to the proper officers of the Department, with an order to prepare the charges. Thus, practically on an anonymous letter, the expense of sending this court so many thousands of miles was incurred, not to mention the injury to the reputation and feelings of the officer, who up to that time had enjoyed a fine reputation.

## CHAPTER III

### COLLECTING INFORMATION AT HONOLULU

THE question of getting back to Honolulu became an important one when the court had concluded its labours. The commander-in-chief thought of putting us ashore to wait two weeks for the steamer which would touch at Samoa on her return trip from Australia; but this species of marooning was abandoned when we insisted on proper quarters on shore to protect us against the weather, because there were no such quarters. Then it was proposed to transfer all of us to the flagship and let her take us back; but here again the question of quarters had to be considered, and this plan was also abandoned. In the end, it was found that the Solace could touch at Honolulu and land us without seriously interfering with her trip to Manila, and this was done. Our return trip was tedious but comfortable. Upon arrival at Honolulu we all took rooms at a beautiful new hotel to wait ten days or two weeks for the next steamer to San Francisco, and I began at once to collect the information the President required.

By spending a part of each day and night at clubs and other places where the business men of the city congregated, keeping eyes and ears open, and occasionally leading the conversation into the proper channels by a few cautious words, I was enabled to learn

much that the President wanted to know. It was most important, of course, that I should get the information without any one suspecting my purpose, and this I think I succeeded in doing. Many leading men said afterwards that they had no idea how the President could know so much of what was going on so far away. I am sure that some of those deeply interested in what took place on the island immediately after my return will know for the first time, if they read this book, that I had any hand in it.

One of the most important questions to be looked into was that of labour for the cane fields. Many kinds of labour had been tried. The Asiatic seemed to be the best, but the employment of this labour was not so simple as some people might think. The law permitted a certain number of males to land, but only one female could land for each half dozen or seven males, so that in many cases I found a woman with five or six so-called husbands. No families being possible under such conditions, there were no children to grow up on the plantations to take the places of those who died or returned to their native land. I visited many native women, who talked with me very freely and gave me much interesting information. I asked the same question of a number of them: "What kind of a man do you prefer for a husband, and why?" Practically all of them gave the same answer. First, "A Chinese, because he is economical, never gets drunk and beats his wife and kills his children." Next, "A Japanese," for the same reasons somewhat modified. Next, "An American, because he is generally good to his wife; he never kills the children when he is drunk." And last,

" A native Hawaiian, who does all the things the others do not do."

On one of the plantations I found the following conditions existing. A party of Asiatics, half Japanese and half Chinese, were put at the same kind of labour in the cane fields. At the end of three months not a Japanese was left. They were all with the machinery in the mills and pumping stations, or else bosses or head men about the barracks. All the Chinese were just where they had been put, patiently weeding the cane regardless of the stifling, sweltering heat in which they were working—and there they will remain until they have saved enough from their scanty wages to take them back to their native land. Nothing, to my mind, could be more characteristic of the two peoples, Japanese and Chinese, than what I have stated above. One or two plantations tried negro labour from our southern states, but it was unsatisfactory for the reason that the man would stop work when he had done a certain amount, and nothing in reason would induce him to do more. After he had received his wages he wanted to rest until he had spent them—the experience of our own planters over again. A few plantations had tried imported Porto Rico labour, and, while it was better than our negro labour, it was not up to the standard of the Asiatics.

I found the whole labour question in a most unsatisfactory condition, and, as far as I know, it is the same to-day. The native of the islands will mix to a limited extent with the whites, but does not furnish satisfactory labour, and is dying off. The Japanese are a very ambitious, warlike race, and likely to give trouble in

time. Those who go to Honolulu, as a rule, are men who have been in the army or navy at home, and have served their time with the colours. They are patriotic and loyal to a degree, and when ordered home by the Emperor go without a word, no matter what personal sacrifice their going may entail. They do not mix with the white race and do not become citizens of the country. Therefore, it seems to me that their presence in large numbers is not desirable. The people of California and other western states tried Chinese labour, gave it up because it was too cheap and too good, turned to the Japanese, and are to-day bitterly regretting the change.

Sugar making is the leading industry of Hawaii and apparently always will remain so. Many of the plantations and mills have been capitalised at a figure that necessitates small dividends to the shareholders. To produce even these dividends, the strictest economy has to be practised, and the price of labour is naturally an important consideration. The cultivation of the cane fields on scientific principles by the use of steam ploughs and the best mechanical cultivators and labour-saving devices will, in the end, settle this troublesome question. The constant and urgent demands for more dividends mean a struggle that will result in the survival of the fittest, not only among machines and managers, but also with respect to labour.

During the two weeks we were detained at Honolulu we had a fair chance to study the habits of the mosquito. These pests had only been known in the islands about thirty years, and the way they came was interesting. A whaler from New Bedford on arriving

at Honolulu sent his water casks on shore to be refilled, and unfortunately one of them contained not only a small quantity of water, but a large quantity of mosquitoes. When this water was poured out preparatory to refilling, the mosquitoes escaped, and soon infested the whole island. Although we used the very best mosquito bars, we were made most uncomfortable, particularly during the night when sleep was almost impossible.

Our steamer came in time, and we left the beautiful island with regret. We had come to know many of the warm-hearted, hospitable people, with whom it was a pleasure to associate, and I for one would have gladly prolonged my visit.

Before leaving I inspected Pearl Harbour, the site selected for our naval station, and found it in some respects ideal for the purpose. The sheet of water is ample and well located for such a station, but the question of defending it after it was built presented serious difficulties. The absence of high land, on which to locate suitable batteries to command the sea and keep an enemy's fleet at a safe distance, was the hardest one to overcome. But this whole question of the defence of these islands is a most difficult one, and I am puzzled to understand how any one, particularly a professional man, can consider them anything but a source of weakness to us in case of war with any naval power in the Pacific. Honolulu is fed once a week by a steamer from San Francisco. Enough rice can possibly be grown on the island to meet the demands of those who eat rice, and the same may be said of fruit, but in other respects the islands are not self-sustaining. In

case of war it will require 50,000 men at least for a proper defence, and all these, with others visiting here, must be fed from the California coast. This would require a large fleet of store ships, and they, in turn, would require a naval force strong enough to protect them over the 2,200 miles they would have to sail. With a determined enemy, this would mean all the ships we could assemble in the Pacific. Some so-called experts contend that these islands in the hands of an enemy would be a source of danger to the Pacific coast. I wonder if they would hold that an island two hundred miles off the coast of England would be a threat to our eastern coast? The distance for the enemy to reach us would be exactly the same.

Let us grant that Honolulu and Pearl Harbour have some value as coaling and repair stations, how can we defend the acquisition and retention of Samoa? What possible value has the place now, or can it have in the future? We maintain a certain small quantity of coal at Pago Pago which, being undefended by a single gun, could be captured by an enemy at his pleasure.

The craze for securing coaling stations in all sorts of out-of-the-way places which at one time seemed to possess the Navy Department led us into many costly errors, I think. Other nations did the same, and many of them are only now awake to the fact that coal for naval purposes must be carried with the fleet, or else be so perfectly protected that an enemy cannot hope to capture it.

Upon my return to Washington, about the middle of December, I reported to the President, and, as he was too busy to hear my report at that time, he invited

me to dine with him and the members of his Cabinet when he would have more leisure. Accordingly, at the time appointed I presented myself, and after the dinner was over the company retired to a smoking room where, cigars having been served, I was invited to make my report. This I did briefly, but at the same time stating all the important facts of which I had knowledge.

A few days later one of the leading men of Honolulu, a graduate of Yale, I think, and a descendant of one of the old missionary families of the islands, whose father had represented Hawaii for many years in Washington, was summoned to the White House. I met him when he arrived in the city, and was amused at his anxiety to know why he had been sent for. He was immediately appointed governor of the islands, and served many years in that capacity, much to the benefit of all concerned except himself. His law business necessarily suffered severely, but then he had the satisfaction of doing his duty to his country, which is all many of us have to show after a lifetime spent in the service.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE VISIT OF PRINCE HENRY OF PRUSSIA

In January, 1902, it was announced that Prince Henry of Prussia, brother of his Imperial Majesty Emperor William, would visit the United States to witness the launching of a sailing yacht which was being built for him at Shelter Island, near New York city. A few days later I was informed by the Secretary of the Navy that I was detailed as a personal escort on the staff of the Prince, and that this detail was at the request of the Emperor conveyed through the German ambassador. Naturally I was much pleased at the compliment, and felt that it was the result of my visit to Kiel, in command of the New York, on the occasion of the opening of the Kiel Canal.

The President directed that a board of officers be assembled to take the whole matter of the reception and entertainment of the Prince in hand. This board consisted of the Assistant Secretary of State, Dr. Hill, General Corbin and Colonel Bingham of the army, Captain Cowles, brother-in-law to the President, and myself. With the assistance of the German ambassador, who was very nervous over the whole matter, we determined the places the Prince could visit. He wanted to see the whole country, but we could only arrange for him a trip that would consume all the time

at his disposal to the best advantage. When we had held one meeting, it was plain that many people would be disappointed, for we were flooded with letters and telegrams from all parts of the country, and these were reinforced by personal applications from senators and representatives in Congress, which was at that time in session.

Mr. Boyd, the able representative of the Pennsylvania Railroad, was called in after the bid of his road had been accepted, and the details for the train were worked out. A train of nine cars was decided upon as necessary for the care and comfort of the party, and I am safe in saying that it was the finest train ever seen on this continent or, I believe, anywhere in the world. Many of the German officers composing the suite of the Prince so expressed themselves. For all the comfort and luxury of the trip we were indebted to Mr. Boyd, whose absolute knowledge of his business enabled him to run the train on time to a second, and to feed us in a way that would shame many first-class hotels in New York. We were never one second late at any point, and we never failed of an excellent meal at the minute set for it. Add to this that our baggage —and there was a lot of it—was always in our rooms at the hotels when we arrived, and one can form some idea of what Mr. Boyd had to do. If I can judge of the Prince's feelings by what he said and the presents he gave, I am confident he appreciated this fine specimen of our railroad men.

The President was anxious above all things for the personal safety of Prince Henry, and to ensure it he put me in touch with Chief Wilkie of the Secret Serv-

ice of the Treasury Department, who had the means, if any one in the world had, to properly guard our royal guest. The German ambassador was most anxious at all times, but I did not share this anxiety, for I saw no reason for it. I did not believe that any considerable number of people wanted to injure or offend a guest of the United States. However, it was not a question of what I, or any one else, thought. It was to carry out the orders of the President and leave nothing undone, in order that the Prince should be protected from injury or insult.

Chief Wilkie worked with energy and perfect system, and before many days had passed every anarchist of much importance was under observation. Each one had a friend who observed him carefully; in some special cases these friends even went so far as to dine with the objectionable people and then accompany them to the theatre or some other place of amusement. In this way we very soon knew what the most prominent anarchists were doing, saying, and thinking. So complete was the system by which all this was done that Wilkie felt confident that he would know in advance if any mischief was contemplated; and yet I am sure only three men knew what was going on.

The only case that really threatened to give serious trouble was that of a doctor in New York who had prepared and printed a most villainous attack on the Prince. The pamphlet containing this attack was a very innocent-looking document with a flattering notice of the Prince on the cover which would have caused one to read the contents. Wilkie secured one of the advance copies, and the entire edition of 25,000

copies was burned before the ink was dry. The author was not at liberty to do harm in any other direction until the royal guest and his party had left the United States. Many of the more violent among the anarchists were locked up, and found habeas corpus proceedings so slow that they only regained their liberty when it was too late for them to do any harm. I was very near Prince Henry night and day during the entire time he was in the country, and if anything had been done to offend or annoy him I am sure I should have heard or seen it; but nothing of the kind occurred. I am sure Chief Wilkie and his able assistants, who were constantly with us, would testify to the same effect. Men and women were, as a rule, deferential, polite, and respectful, but the irrepressible American gamin could not always be controlled, and he sometimes called out, "Hello, Henry, come out and have a beer!" or amused himself in the middle of the night by rattling the side of the sleeper with a stick.

Prince Henry was a man with sufficient experience to give these demonstrations their correct value, and he must have felt from the first how completely the people of the United States were with him in feeling. If he ever felt the least annoyance over any incident of his visit, I am sure I should have known it, for my relations with him were of the most intimate and confidential nature.

Before the arrival of Prince Henry, the Navy Department ordered a special-service squadron of three cruisers and a battleship to assemble off Tompkinsville, under my command, to extend proper courtesies to him when he came. The battleship Illinois was as-

signed as my flagship. Captain Converse, who has since died as a rear-admiral after a most distinguished and useful career, commanded the Illinois, and had his ship in most perfect condition, and later on it was a source of great pleasure to show the Prince and his officers every part of her, from double bottoms to military tops.

About one week before the Prince was due, the Emperor's yacht, the Hohenzollern, in command of Captain Count Baudissin of the Imperial German Navy, arrived in New York harbour and was berthed in a convenient slip in the North river. Owing to the small amount of coal she could carry, she had been compelled to come by way of the Azores and St. Thomas. Once in her berth, she furnished, as it was intended she should do, royal quarters for the Prince and his officers, where they could entertain as much or as little as he should choose and at the same time be absolutely free from intrusion. A picked lot of policemen and detectives had full charge of the neighbourhood and kept a sharp eye on all suspicious persons.

When the ocean liner bearing Prince Henry finally arrived, I hurried on board with my staff to welcome him. We managed to board her in the lower bay and go up to the city with him. It was a beautiful, sharp February morning and the crisp air was entirely free from smoke. A light fall of snow of the night before remained, and covered the ground and shrubbery so that they appeared to the best advantage. As we passed the special-service squadron, they saluted his Royal Highness with twenty-one

guns. All the vessels in the harbour owning steam whistles pulled them wide open, and the din was deafening.

There is always something more or less formal about naval special full-dress uniform; it is intended for occasions of special ceremony, and a welcome in this dress must be formal. When I addressed Prince Henry and welcomed him to the United States on the part of the Navy, it was charming to see the ease with which he banished all formality.

"I thank you and your brother officers, Admiral, for your welcome." And then, quick as a flash: "My dear Evans, it is such a pleasure to be welcomed first by an old friend." After this, all informality disappeared and was replaced by the strictest official courtesy and etiquette.

As the Kronprinz steamed up the harbour Prince Henry observed everything minutely. I stood on the bridge with him and pointed out to him the different objects of interest. New York lower bay, in setting of snow, was almost beautiful, certainly it was attractive, but the city itself when it finally came into view was ugly beyond words to describe. The straggling masses of skyscrapers, no two of them the same shape or size and surrounded by low, ugly, squalid buildings, did not impress any one even with a sense of grandeur. The Prince gave us to understand that, while he was interested in the subject of architecture, the real object of his visit was to see the American people, and during his entire visit this was never lost sight of—to see the American people and as much of them as possible in the time at his disposal.

As the great ocean liner approached her dock, six tugs put their noses against her starboard side and quickly turned her against the strong current of the river and slipped her into her berth without so much as scratching the paint on her side. Prince Henry watched this work with the interest natural to one of his professional attainments. He knew what he was looking at, and he also knew how well it was being done, and, further, that it could not be so well done anywhere else in the world. When the ship had been docked and the gangplank, covered with American and German flags, lowered into place, I passed out with my staff and formed line on the dock near the Hohenzollern. As his Royal Highness came down, we stood at salute, and I said to him:

"Prince Henry, I beg to welcome you to American soil."

To which he replied with a smile:

"It is a great pleasure to know that it is an old friend who welcomes me first." Then he passed over the side of the Hohenzollern and the reception, so far as I was concerned, was at an end.

The customary visits of courtesy followed at once. Calls were made by the German ambassador; the officers representing our government, headed by the Assistant Secretary of State; Admiral Barker, Commandant of the Navy Yard; General Brooks, commanding the Department of the East; and, finally, by Mr. Seth Low, mayor of the city of New York. It was late in the afternoon when all these visits had been returned, but the Prince insisted that dinner could wait until he had the pleasure of visiting my flagship.

A tug conveyed us to Tompkinsville, where he inspected the Illinois very thoroughly, and expressed himself as highly pleased with her condition and everything about her. Then we returned to the royal yacht, where dinner was served and the officers prepared for the first night in America.

That night Prince Henry had his first glimpse of German America. He visited the Deutsche Verein, and there heard for the first time in America the German singing which was to be a feature of his whole trip. The song commemorating the sinking of a German torpedo boat at sea, off the coast of China, was superbly rendered by a chorus of more than one hundred male voices, and was repeated at the request of the Prince. Then he reviewed a torchlight procession of German societies from one of the balconies on the fifth story of the club-house. It was a scene long to be remembered by those who witnessed it. Park Avenue, as far as the eye could reach, was a dense mass of Germans, with a blaze of light through the middle of the street. As each club or society came before the balcony its members cheered and saluted the Prince. One of his aides stood by, watch in hand, timing the men as they marched past, and after twenty-five or thirty counts this officer reported that they were passing at the rate of two hundred a minute, and that the end of the procession would pass at a certain time, which it did within half a minute. When the end of the procession approached, I said to Prince Henry:

"Will you kindly step to the end of the balcony when the procession has passed? The people would like to have a look at you." Every available space

was jammed with people, and as he appeared there arose a German-American roar that can never be forgotten.

Our German population was naturally a source of much interest to Prince Henry. He wanted to know and to hear what they thought of many things, but he also wanted to know what we Americans thought of them, and he was immensely pleased when we commended them as good citizens. In every speech to them he said that they could best show their love for the Fatherland by being loyal to their adopted country, America. Though holding himself well in hand and under perfect control, the Prince was as emotional and sensitive as a girl, and whenever he saw the German veterans of the Franco-Prussian War the tears were very near the surface. Later on, in Milwaukee, several hundred of the soldiers of '70–'71 were drawn up for his inspection. Both he and the distinguished officers of his party stopped and spoke to the old men, and the greeting was most cordial and striking.

The day following the landing in New York the Prince and his party proceeded to Washington to meet the President and deliver the messages of his Majesty, the Emperor. In the evening he dined with President Roosevelt, and to meet him some of the most distinguished men of the nation had been asked to the White House. During his personal interviews no one was allowed to be present, and what was said by either Prince or President must remain a secret until one or the other may choose to speak. It was plain from their faces afterwards, however, that nothing unpleasant had taken place. After the interview they both seemed to

enjoy a long horseback ride across country, though they came back from it drenched to the skin.

On February 24th it was arranged that Prince Henry should have a look at the Congress of the United States, which was then in session. We drove to the Capitol and were given seats in the diplomatic gallery of the House of Representatives, where we sat for half an hour and listened to the talk of some member who left on our minds only one impression—how frequently he could murder the King's English. The plan for us after this was to proceed to the diplomatic gallery of the Senate, but this was only partially carried out. The members of the staff were shown into that gallery, but the Prince and his personal aides were shown into the Vice-President's room. Senators Morgan, Frye, and Lodge then conducted us onto the floor of the Senate. The Vice-President invited his Royal Highness to take the seat of the presiding officer, which he declined, but accepted a seat by his side, and the Senate went on with its work. This unusual courtesy was perfectly understood by the Prince and fully appreciated by him. It brought home to him in the strongest way the feeling of friendship entertained for him by the people of this country. Mr. Bailey, senator from Texas, was speaking at the time of our visit, and Prince Henry was impressed, as I was, with the strength of his argument. He was claiming that it was doubtful if the Senate had the right to suspend a senator—that it had the right to dismiss a member, and in that case another could be provided to fill the place, but in the case of suspension the state would be without proper representation.

On February 25th a distinguished party assembled to witness the launching of the Emperor's yacht, the Meteor. A special train conveyed the President and his friends to Jersey City, and a second train carried Prince Henry and his party. The two trains were housed in the depot at the same time, and from them the whole party was taken on board a special Pennsylvania ferryboat to the shipyard at Shelter Island to witness the launching. The ferryboat was decorated with flags, as became the occasion, the President's flag at one side, Prince Henry's standard on the other, and the American flag above all. The weather was foggy and very cold, but even this could not prevent the enthusiastic crowds from making themselves heard.

The launching of the Meteor and her christening by Miss Alice Roosevelt were in every way successful and perfect. There are always people wishing to make trouble, and on this occasion some one raised the point that the vessel should be launched flying the German flag, and immediately some one else claimed that she should fly the American flag. This caused some feeling, and it looked as if there might be trouble over so simple a thing. Of course, it was not a question for me to settle; in fact, it was none of my business, and I would not have said a word about it if one of the German officers who was to take the yacht home had not asked me to do so. I asked him if the Meteor had been paid for, and he replied that she had not. Then, I said, as she belonged to the people who built her, it would seem proper that she should fly their flag until her condition changed. When she had been paid for, cleared for a German port, under command of a German cap-

tain, it would be proper and fitting for her to fly the German flag, and not before. This seemed so simple a solution of the question that every one accepted it, and the matter was never heard of again.

After the launching, a beautiful luncheon was served, the usual number of speeches were made, and the party returned to New York city to dine on board the Hohenzollern. The caterer who furnished and served the luncheon was the victim of a peculiar American custom. All his table furniture was stolen and carried off as souvenirs. Years afterwards he appealed to me to help him in some way, if I could, to recover the value of his property. I was very sorry for the man, but could do nothing to help him. When I had told him of some of our experiences on board vessels of the navy, where we had lost practically everything we owned, he seemed to feel his losses less keenly. In later years we were all made to blush by these same souvenir thieves when they stole from the officers of an Italian cruiser, who had given a reception, all their jewelry and personal belongings.

After luncheon on the Hohenzollern, and when the President and his party left for Washington, Prince Henry started for the City Hall to receive the freedom of the city of New York. The weather was very bad; it was blowing a northeast gale, with rain and occasional snow, and to make the trip as easily as possible I took him on a navy-yard tug as far as the Battery, where carriages were in waiting. At this point occurred one of those incidents which had much to do in shaping American sentiment toward him. As the tug drew up to the landing, Prince Henry noticed that

our carriages were closed, and at the same time he saw the dripping multitude, facing the northeast storm, waiting to welcome him. Turning to me, he said:

"Evans, please have the carriages opened. If the people can stand in the rain to see me, I can surely sit in the rain to see them!"

As the first carriage was opened and the crowd understood what was being done, the cheers began, and soon the streets were filled with a wet mass of cheering humanity. And so we rode to the City Hall, all of us thoroughly soaked, our special full-dress uniforms dripping wet and the icy water trickling down our backs, but in no way worse off than the honest Americans who were welcoming the Prince.

It was a pleasure at this time to watch the crowds and observe the changing expressions of the faces. Most of them were serious at first, and when they caught sight of Prince Henry's face this quickly changed into smiles, and then came handclapping and cheers. It was one of the most striking things I ever saw. Repeated elsewhere and often afterwards, it showed me that it was the personality of the man that was winning him friends, and not any idle curiosity about a Prince. He captured them all, men and women, big and little, young and old, as soon as they had one look at his smiling face.

At the City Hall we were met by the mayor and members of the city government. The freedom of the city was presented to his Royal Highness in a beautiful silver casket by Mayor Seth Low in a short, eloquent address. I have heard many addresses of various kinds in my life, under all kinds of conditions, but never be-

fore or since have I heard anything finer than this one from Mayor Low. As Prince Henry said of it afterwards, "it was polished and brilliant in every phrase."

When the ceremony was over we drove back to the Hohenzollern through the city. The streets were crowded with people, and the pelting rain and driving snow treated us all impartially, wetting us to the skin, or rather keeping us wet to the skin, for we had been in that condition for several hours.

Every hour of Prince Henry's time while in New York had been covered by a programme which was made up, generally speaking, of public receptions. The night after he had received the freedom of the city and such a thorough wetting, he was to appear at the Metropolitan Opera, where a special performance was to be given in his honour. As soon as we had changed our clothing and eaten a hasty dinner we started. The weather by this time had become very cold and the streets were a sheet of ice. In addition to the guard of mounted police, Squadron A, the crack New York cavalry organisation, had asked to be allowed the honour of escorting the Prince, and this request was granted. We were a little late in starting from the Hohenzollern, and in order to make up the time we had to drive at rather a rapid pace, considering the condition of the streets.

We had gone a few blocks only when one of the cavalrymen received what looked like a very ugly fall. The horse slipped on the icy street and went down, landing apparently on top of the rider. In a moment the young man was up and, before we could see what damage had been done, quickly remounted the animal

and darted back to his place. Prince Henry called a mounted policeman and asked that this soldier be sent back to report to him, as he had something to say to him. I watched the incident with interest, as I felt pretty sure of what would happen.

The soldier wheeled his horse and reported smartly to the Prince, who complimented him on his horsemanship, hoped he was not hurt, and shook hands with him. Then the horses began falling rapidly. There was quite a string of them coming back to be complimented and to shake hands with his Royal Highness, and, while the condition of the streets may have accounted for many of the falls, I have always felt that some of them could not be accounted for in this way. On our return trip that night to the Hohenzollern we drove through the middle of the street at a walk, and the cavalry escort rode on the sidewalks, thus preventing accidents.

## CHAPTER V

### PRINCE HENRY IN THE WEST

When we started on our western trip, one of the first requests made by Prince Henry was that he be allowed to ride on a locomotive. He was fond of driving a torpedo boat at top speed, and, being many kinds of an engineer, wished to see what an American locomotive could do. The conditions at the time were not the very best for safety, as it had been raining hard for many days, causing several washouts on the road ahead of us. In addition to this, the German ambassador, who accompanied the party, objected to his doing it. However, it was finally arranged that he should have his ride, and accordingly at Summit he mounted the 120-ton locomotive that drew our train. Mr. Boyd, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, went with him, and after going about one hundred miles he came back to his car as black as a chimney sweep, but vowing that he had had a splendid trip. His manner to the men on the locomotive and those working about it was so democratic and natural, and withal so knowing, that they were all his devoted admirers. And the same may be said of about ninety-nine per cent of the people with whom he came in contact during his visit to this country. Since his return to Germany, Prince Henry has been one of the

leading men there in developing the fastest motor cars and the best balloons and aëroplanes.

When the train was fairly started on our western trip, we soon settled down into real comfort. The car occupied by the Prince was at the rear of the train, so that he could conveniently show himself when occasion demanded, and this was really at every town or city through which we passed. The rear end of the car was used for dining and observation purposes. The rest of it was taken up with state-rooms, in which were berthed Prince Henry, Commodore Seckendorf, the chief of his household, his personal servant, and myself. Other cars on the train held the rest of the party, and they all took their meals in one or two dining cars. When the Prince had completed his toilet in the morning, usually about seven o'clock, the chief of his household and the adjutant for the day were summoned and transacted such business as was necessary. Among other things, they prepared the invitations for dinner for those who were to dine with him in addition to the regular party. Each day found the division superintendent of the road on which we were riding on board the train, and he was always invited. Then one or two members of his own party and as many of the committee completed the group around the table. The German ambassador and Admiral von Tirpitz, Secretary of the German Navy, dined with us every day.

The cars were supplied with every luxury in the way of meat and drink, the service was excellent, and our meals a time of pleasure and enjoyment. The German officers were all experts in their several lines, spoke

English well, and never hesitated to say just what they thought about any professional subject that happened to be under discussion. So we came, before the end of the trip, to know the German side of many questions that had been as a sealed book to us before. After breakfast had been served, we gave our time to observing the country through which we were passing. Many times Chief Wilkie joined the party and amused us all with his witty and wonderful stories. Dinner was the formal meal of the day, but only formal as compared with our breakfast and luncheon. The Prince was always democratic and most entertaining, seemed never to be playing the part of a Prince, but no one in the party ever forgot that he was one, and a jolly good one at that.

When Prince Henry had retired, which was usually at one or two o'clock in the morning, one of my most important duties had to be attended to. Wilkie would come in with the mass of telegrams from stations ahead of us, and these had to be carefully read and disposed of. They came generally from police authorities, but sometimes from all manner of people. We had quite a number like this:

"Turn back your train at once. The Prince will be shot at one P.M. to-morrow!"

Of course these went quickly into the paper basket, for we knew that if any one was going to shoot him we would not be told in advance. When all the messages had been gone over carefully, Wilkie would turn in, but always left one of his men on duty in the car.

Then Mr. Boyd would come in for a few minutes and chat about matters connected with the train, after which I could consider my day's work completed and retire to my bed.

The reception of the royal party at St. Louis was magnificent, as was to be expected from a city which claimed as German one-half of its population. Governor Francis, one of the most dignified and polished gentlemen this country has ever produced, was at the head of the reception committee, and that meant that everything would be done in a dignified and proper way. The railroad station was surrounded by a surging mass of enthusiastic, orderly people, all anxious for a sight of the distinguished visitor. A large number of police were on duty, and a fine mounted escort was in readiness.

When we had left the depot we found the streets thronged with people, all of them keeping to the sidewalks and no effort being made to crowd the carriage. Prince Henry and Governor Francis sat on the after seat and, of course, Wilkie and I on the other, with a Secret Service officer on the box with the driver. As we passed through the principal streets of the city the people showed great enthusiasm; particularly was this the case with the women. This led to a very amusing incident. Wilkie, who had been watching everything in a keen, businesslike way, turned to Prince Henry and Governor Francis and said:

"Some of the most noted pickpockets of the country are here to-day, and I have been watching them reap a rich harvest."

We were all attention at once, and he pointed out

to us how the game was being played. The women were crowded out close to the curbing of the sidewalk, and as we approached they raised both hands to wave a welcome to the Prince, which many of them did with red, hysterical faces. This was the chance for the "crooks," who would dodge in front of them and with some sharp instrument quickly relieve them of the small bags hanging about their waists, which usually contained their valuables and money. It was amusing, as well as instructive, to see how quickly and completely this could be done, and how soon the offender was safely hidden in the crowd. They disappeared like rats running into a hole. If this part was amusing, it certainly was pathetic to see the faces of the women and hear their screams when they discovered their loss. I am sure that we saw at least half a dozen of the most noted pickpockets in the United States actually plying their trade—a novel experience, and one not likely to be repeated.

During the whole of our ride I was anxiously watching the crowd for some indication of unfriendly feeling toward our guest. I was sure that if such feeling were ever shown, it would be in some city with a large German or Polish population.

A short time after we started from the railroad station I noticed a large, rough-looking man, apparently about twenty-five years of age, who was following our carriage. He ran along in the rear of the crowd, in the open space between the crowd and the fronts of the houses, and as he loped along he kept his eyes constantly on us. After watching him for ten or fifteen minutes, I called Wilkie's attention to him, and he, in

turn, spoke a few words in an undertone to the detective on the box, who said quietly:

"All right; been watching him; has no gun!"

Wilkie then told me that he had had his eyes on this man from the moment he first started after us, and was satisfied that there was no harm in him. It was interesting, as well as very assuring, to see how well these efficient Secret Service officers knew their business.

We had a long, rapid ride through the beautiful streets of St. Louis, then a splendid banquet, and afterwards a quiet night on our train, where we discussed the events of the day and viewed the presents that had been sent to the Prince. As I recall it now, the most amusing event of the day was the inability of the chief of police to ride a spirited charger that had been provided for the purpose. The chief was a very large, fat man, who did not look like one given to much horseback exercise. However, he made several desperate efforts, and only gave up after a bad fall. The horse, a fine specimen, behaved as if he had never before heard a military band. He certainly did tricks enough to put him in the Wild West Show, where he would have done himself credit.

When we were passing through the manufacturing part of the city a workman leaned out of a window in the tenth or twelfth story and, using a long megaphone, called out: "Hello, Henry, how are you, and how is your brother William?" Many times people on the streets called out, "How are you, Prince Henry?" and he always smiled and answered, "Very well, thank you. How are you?" It was this complete understanding of the democratic manners of our middle

classes that made the Prince so popular with the common people. Of course, he never heard such things from those who understood what was due to royalty.

At Chattanooga we were joined by General Boynton and a local committee, who conducted us to Lookout Mountain and explained in detail to the German officers the great battle fought at this point during the Civil War. While the general gave his description the officers stood about him in a picturesque group and listened, as only real military men can listen, to the story of one of the greatest battles of history. General von Plessen, the chief of staff of the German army, was one of the party, and it was only necessary to hear a few of his questions to know that he had made a searching and deep study of this particular campaign. As the historian of so many of the great battles of the war, General Boynton was able to point out exactly how each brigade and division was manœuvred in this contest. At times one could almost see the men in blue uniform driving back their gallant enemies far above the clouds. I watched with interest the faces of the German officers while they listened to the brilliant description, and it was plain to see from the way their colour came and went, and from the flashing of their eyes, that war was the thing, and the only thing, that really stirred them through and through.

It was necessary for me to return to the train before the rest of the party, and while I was looking after some matters of detail a telegram came from a city in Kentucky, asking if the Prince would stop there for a few minutes to be greeted by his friends and receive a present from them. I answered "Yes," and then ar-

ranged with Boyd to stop the train for just two minutes, and no more. When we had said good-bye to our kind-hearted friends at Chattanooga and were fairly on our way, I explained to Prince Henry what I had done and what he might expect. Several of the ranking officers were assembled in our car, in the observation end of it, while I told them of some of the peculiarities of the Kentucky people.

After recounting some of the most noted and bloody feuds in which there had been great loss of life, I described the habit of carrying concealed weapons by the male population, and explained how this practice had resulted in leaving the country without many whole men, most of them being maimed or marked in some way, either by gun or knife. All the Germans exclaimed at such a barbarous custom, but at the same time there was not a man among them who did not show scars on his face, received in his college-day duels. They had fought often, but the practice was mere fun compared with that of the Kentucky methods. Both methods have their advocates.

When we arrived at the town from which the telegram had come, and the train had been stopped without killing any of the enthusiastic thousands who crowded the tracks, the usual committee of three came on board. The chairman came first, a young, clean-cut gentleman, perfectly dressed, and in every way prepared to do with credit what devolved upon him. As he began, in his soft, southern voice, " Yo' Royal Highness," we saw *that he had one defective eye!* As he finished his few polished words of welcome he presented his two fellow-members of the committee, and



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Prince Henry of Prussia with Admiral Evans, on his tour through the United States.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

*one of them was lame in one leg!* Then came three coloured men, each bearing a box or case, and when these had been deposited the party withdrew and we went on our way. During the short presentation speech we were all doing our best to suppress our laughter. The committee must have thought us a good-humoured party, for every man had a broad grin on his face, the cause of which was, of course, unknown to our kind-hearted friends.

As the train pulled out of the station and the shouts of laughter, provoked by the number of lame or maimed people we had seen, had subsided, Prince Henry asked:

"Evans, what do you think is in those boxes?"

I replied that one probably contained very old and fine Bourbon whiskey, one apple brandy, and the other peach brandy. This statement proved to be correct when the cases were opened. His Royal Highness tested them all in one dose, and pronounced them good, though different from anything he ever drank before. I mixed a fair-sized drink of whiskey, a little apple brandy with it, and just a dash of peach brandy on top to give it the proper flavour. Before I had time to add any water the Prince took the glass and, instead of sipping the fluid, swallowed the whole poisonous mess and, with a rather startled look on his face, asked:

"What do you call that drink?"

"A torchlight procession, your Royal Highness!" was my reply.

The boxes were repacked, and afterward found their way to the Palace at Kiel. The next morning, if I had known the story then, I would have told Prince

Henry of the Kentucky gentleman who, on being asked, early in the morning, how he felt, replied, " How do I feel, sah? I feel as every gentleman should feel in the morning, sah! I feel like hell, sah! "

The reception accorded to the royal party at Chicago was just what one would expect from Chicago. The population of this great city turned out by hundreds of thousands to welcome its guests, and words fail to describe what the great sea of humanity looked like. In every direction the streets were blocked with people, but the police kept perfect order without the assistance of any military force. Some of the streets were roped off to keep the crowds within bounds, but as a rule this was not done. Orders were published requiring the people to remain on the sidewalks, and the police enforced the order. As an exhibition of police authority it was certainly most striking. Chicago had learned her lesson in the days of the Haymarket trouble, and later in the labour strikes, and she had learned it well.

After leaving the train we proceeded, with a strong mounted police patrol ahead of us, to the Auditorium Hotel, where fine accommodations had been secured. On our way we had to pass a house where the anarchist newspaper of the city was published, and, notwithstanding that all possible precautions had been taken, both Chief Wilkie and I feared some unfriendly demonstration at this point. As we approached the corner on which the printing office stood, I noticed that the buildings on the opposite side of the street had a number of policemen on the roofs in such position that they could command all the windows. One glance at Wilkie

showed that he was just a trifle pale, but, with his right hand in his left breast pocket, he was ready for action in a second or less. Both of us thought that Prince Henry, who sat on the back seat conversing with the mayor, was ignorant of the conditions, but we were undeceived a few minutes later when he leaned forward, smiling, and said, "Wilkie, is your heart beating very fast? You know the danger point is passed!" We never learned who told him of the danger, and nothing in his appearance indicated that he apprehended any.

The weather during our visit to Chicago was bitterly cold, compelling us to wear our heaviest service overcoats. When we reached the hotel I stepped out of the carriage to assist the Prince, who passed at once into the lobby, closely followed by six or eight of the finest-looking detective officers I ever saw, who prevented the crowd from following too closely. It was their business to look to the safety and comfort of the foreign guests, and they did it most efficiently. We common American officers were supposed to take care of ourselves, but it was a difficult job in the surging mass of humanity that packed the streets and surrounded our carriages after we stopped. As I followed Prince Henry and the mayor from the carriage to the hotel entrance, I was conscious that I was being pretty roughly crowded and jostled, but it was only for a moment, and I paid no attention to those about me. All were cheering and seemed in the best of humour. On entering my room my servant asked me how I had torn my overcoat, a new one of heavy blue service cloth. I replied that I had not torn it, so far as I

knew; that I was unconscious of having done so. When I had removed it, however, I found a clean cut, quite ten inches long, across the back, just over the hip pocket in my trousers, made no doubt by some expert pickpocket with a razor or some other very sharp instrument in order to reach my pocket-book. When he put his hand into the opening, if he went that far, he felt a revolver, and not a pocket-book, and, as he was probably well supplied with weapons of that kind, he left it alone. The police were undoubtedly expert and efficient. So were the pick-pockets!

When we had changed our uniforms, Prince Henry proceeded to place a wreath on the tomb of Abraham Lincoln. He was accompanied by Mr. Robert T. Lincoln, Mayor Harrison, Chief Wilkie, and myself. Other carriages carried the rest of the party, including the German ambassador and the German consul, to Chicago. As soon as the wreath had been placed, Prince Henry took a spade and planted a tree near the tomb, and the ceremony was complete. Mr. Lincoln seemed particularly touched by this tribute to the memory of his father when informed that it was at the command of the Emperor of Germany.

The programme of entertainments during our stay in the city was so full and complete that it was almost more than human flesh could stand to carry it out. First came a great reception and ball, over which the "*four hundred*" had many discussions as to rank and precedence. The lady who drew the Prince was, of course, satisfied, and she seemed to be the only one that was. I was fortunate in having a charming woman for

my companion during the grand march into the ball-room, which was, of itself, a wonderful performance and very long drawn out. When the dancing began I introduced her to a German lieutenant, and that was the last I saw of her. She never came back, and she was considerate enough not to put any one in her place, so that I was able, after waiting a proper time for her return, to retire to a quiet corner and enjoy my cigar.

This ball and reception disclosed a curious condition, which was a complete surprise to many of us. Immediately after our arrival I noticed a number of very military-looking men in plain clothes speaking to Prince Henry. They all stood at attention with their heels together, and all spoke German. Wilkie soon knew all about them, and informed me that they were German army officers on leave, travelling in the United States, where they were seeing what they could see and preparing reports on various subjects for his Majesty, the Emperor. I was much surprised to find so many of them. They could not wear their uniforms without permission of his Majesty, and to appear in plain dress at the ball was distasteful, so either the Prince or the ambassador, or maybe both of them, wired for the necessary permission, and it came in time for them to attend the ball and the banquet in military dress. I do not believe there were more than three people in Chicago who knew of the presence of those officers in and about the city. We may, however, be quite sure that those courteous, quick-eyed men gave the Emperor all the information he wanted about the great city and its doings.

Entertainments of various kinds followed each other in rapid succession, but none of them supplied what Prince Henry wanted. He was very desirous of seeing something of the great industries of this unique city. The music he heard was excellent, but he could hear better in Germany. The ladies were, some of them, beautiful, and the display of necks, shoulders, and diamonds great, but all these could also be seen in other places. What could not be seen anywhere else in the world was the wonderful packing houses and kindred industries, and these he was most anxious to inspect; but his wishes could not be complied with. Both Wilkie and I argued the case with the ambassador and begged him to allow us to arrange a trip through the cattle yards, but he would not for a moment consent, or even listen to it. All the detective officers were confident that no harm would come from such a trip, but the mayor said, when we appealed to him, that he regretted to have to say that he could not guarantee the safety of his distinguished guest if he undertook it—a hard admission for the head of a great city government to have to make.

Many, if not all, of the great packing houses employed Poles in the work of dressing and cutting the animals to be packed, and, of course, these Polaks hated everything German. This the German ambassador knew, and it was for fear of some bodily harm to his Royal Highness that he objected so strongly. The information I had from the detectives satisfied me that the proposed trip would be a perfectly safe one. The Polaks might throw some blood on us, which was a playful trick they enjoyed, but this could not hurt any one

seriously, and the blood could be easily washed off. I doubted if they would do even so much.

However, the ambassador was the one to decide the question, and he did it. The Prince was willing to go in *mufti*, but I was unwilling to take that chance against the opinion of the mayor and the ambassador, and so Prince Henry missed seeing the one thing above all others he wanted to see in the United States. Many of his officers saw not only the packing houses and stock yards, but many other things not always shown, without danger or inconvenience.

From Chicago we ran to Milwaukee, a city which claims more than two-thirds of its population as German or of German descent, and here we had one of the pleasantest receptions of the whole trip. Mayor Rose and the city officials had arranged a programme, which occupied all our time, but also gave us a few hours for rest. When the train arrived we were taken for quite a long drive about the city, beautifully located on a high bluff overlooking the lake, and the strong, cold lake breeze blowing at the time gave colour to everything, but particularly to the cheeks of the women. Prince Henry was struck, as I was, with the number of beautiful women we saw. They were at their best because of the cool, crisp air and the beautiful clothes they wore. The city, people, and all were in gala attire. Many times Prince Henry said to me in an undertone, " Evans, look quick at that charming face," and then it would be my turn to call his attention to one on my side of the carriage. Finally we agreed that each should look at those on his own side only. Otherwise we would become cross-eyed!

At the time of our visit there was a great gathering of German societies in the city, and they gave the Prince much music, singing, and speech-making. During the night there was a turnout of the whole city fire department, and the firemen gave us a fine exhibition of what they could do in case of necessity. The horses ran well and the men rode the long hook-and-ladder wagons without falling off, and turned the corners with the accuracy of a modern battleship under full steam.

The great breweries for which Milwaukee is famous were inspected, and afforded several hours of interest to the Prince and his party. Before we left, our car was fairly loaded with export blue-label beer, which the German officers liked, much to my surprise. I could understand why they liked American champagne. It was *not* French and *was* sweet—two very good reasons for their preference, for they like sweet wine, as a rule, and they do not like anything French. But the beer question was a puzzle to me.

## CHAPTER VI

### PRINCE HENRY AT NIAGARA FALLS

As we moved along from Milwaukee back to the eastward again, and passed through the oil fields of Ohio, Prince Henry was thoroughly interested, and wanted the train stopped while he examined some of the wells and the method of handling the product. And so it was when we passed through the vast grape district about Erie, where they cultivate over two hundred varieties of grapes. In the one case he was deeply interested because there is no petroleum in Germany, and in the other because there they grow grapes in enormous quantities and supply the best wine to a large part of the world, and he wanted to compare methods. With all the fun we were having on the train, he was absorbing a great amount of information for future use or reference.

On our arrival at Niagara Falls we found, for the first time, defective police arrangements. We were much delayed in our movements by the curious crowd which surrounded us and stared in our faces. My Chicago experience, I suppose, had rendered me sensitive to the touch of strange hands about my clothing, and when I found some one trying to get his hand into my hip pocket, under my military cloak, I was provoked and angered beyond reason. Without much effort I

caught the wrist of the would-be thief and held it firmly, and then, in an instant, the thought flashed through my mind that if I called for the arrest of the person I should have to remain over to appear against him. The young man, not over twenty, I am sure, was doing his best to get away from me. So, with a sharp upper cut with my right on the point of his chin, I let him go. The crowd was dense at the time, and, seeing the condition of things, handled the young chap rather roughly. When I saw him last he was being well hammered by four or five youngsters of his own age.

Niagara was one of the points of greatest interest to Prince Henry and his party. Aside from the natural beauties of the wonderful place, they were deeply interested in the scheme, then just completed, of generating electric power from the water of the falls and transmitting the same to Buffalo and other nearby cities. The officers of the power company were most courteous and obliging, and gave the Prince and his officers every chance to see and inspect in detail their magnificent plant, capable of generating and transmitting 250,000 horse power to a distance of sixty or seventy miles. My impression at the time was that this was the most interesting incident of the trip.

After the examination of the power house came a delightful visit down the gorge to witness the tumble of the waters, which appealed to the sensitive, poetical nature of Prince Henry and filled his music-loving soul with joy. For nearly an hour he sat watching the surging mass of tumbling water, silent and enrapt. Occasionally he would look up and ask about some daring attempt to swim the falls, and then relapse into

silent watching of the wonderful scene before him. It was an hour of pure joy for us all.

Later we crossed the bridge, in the biting cold, for a nearer view of the falls. In the middle of the bridge our carriages were stopped and we had to spend precious time listening to a Canadian address of welcome. Then the Prince had to respond and later send a wire to his uncle announcing his arrival on English soil, all of which was necessary under the strict rules of etiquette; but it took valuable time, and we had none to spare. If all the speech-making could have been cut out of the trip, Prince Henry could have seen much of our splendid machinery, in which he was so much interested. An effort was constantly made to make this speech-making appear as a purely American custom. But I had to maintain that it was the custom of every country I had ever visited. Certainly it was so at the opening of the Kiel Canal, and I afterwards found it flourishing in China and Japan. We may be the only nation that carries it to such a painful extent, but all other nations have the disease, and it will, no doubt, grow with them, as it has with us, until one cannot visit a deaf-and-dumb institution without delivering a so-called address, and listening to one, or more, in reply.

## CHAPTER VII

### PRINCE HENRY IN BOSTON

From Niagara our itinerary took us to Boston, where, of course, everything was properly done. Aside from a desire to see one of the oldest and most historic of American cities, the Prince held a special commission from the Emperor to deliver to Harvard University presents of considerable value. Incidentally, he was to receive a degree himself, which gave him great pleasure.

The reception at Cambridge was delightful and dignified. The president and professors spoke well, the students cheered well, and everything was as it should be, with one exception. When Prince Henry had received his degree and, at a convenient moment, stood reading it carefully, I saw a puzzled and troubled look on his face. After a few moments of study he said to me:

"Evans, I don't know what to do. Can you assist me? They have made a mistake and have given me the wrong rank in this degree."

Of course, it must be changed, corrected rather, and it was a delicate thing to suggest to the faculty of Harvard University that *they* had made a mistake! I knew that President Eliot had said, "Even the young-

est undergraduate may make a mistake!" But this was not the case of an undergraduate—of some one much higher, close up to President Eliot himself—and it had to be corrected—and it was.

Prince Henry wished to see how the students at Harvard lived. He wished always to see what he could of our home life; but this was, as a rule, impossible. He was shown some of the student rooms, but I was impressed with the fact that they were rooms of young men of means, as he was, and this did not interest him. At Annapolis and West Point he saw what he was looking for—all the rooms exactly the same, rich and poor alike.

The official reception was held at the residence of Professor Münsterberg, and it was an occasion long to be remembered. Those assembled represented the brains, the culture, and the wealth of Boston society. It was a wonderful gathering, worthy of the occasion. Prince Henry presented the beautiful casts sent by the Emperor in a very graceful, short address, and they were appropriately accepted. An hour was given to social festivities, and we returned to our hotel to prepare for a reception at the State House. Some of the social lights were amused during this reception to see the manœuvring of some of their best-known members. They were recognised leaders in society matters, and had evidently made up their minds that on this occasion they would play a leading part—be the observed of all observers. But how small a thing may change such social ambitions! I am not sure that the Prince knew just what was being arranged, but, whether he did or not. he certainly spoiled it all most completely.

When the Prince entered the room he took a position quite away from the one he was expected to occupy, and when it was suggested that he change it he replied that he was very comfortable where he was, and there he remained. From the look on his face, and one or two words to me later, I felt sure that Prince Henry understood what was going on and did not propose to allow himself to be used in that way.

At the State House the Prince was formally welcomed by the governor and state officials and received by a handsome escort of state troops. After inspecting the much-discussed building and the beautiful Shaw memorial tablet in front of it, we returned to our hotel to make ready for the inevitable banquet that was to take place that evening. Up to this point everything in connection with our visit had been all that one could ask, even of Boston.

During the early hours of the banquet Prince Henry referred to what he called our "speech-making habit." We certainly had been bored almost to death by the speeches that had been made to us, or at us, but in what country would it have been different? He said to me:

"What an extraordinary way of entertaining one's guest—sit him down and make speeches to him! There is no chance for conversation. I find myself seated between two charming gentlemen, but I am unable to get anything more than 'Yes' or 'No' out of them until after they have made speeches. Then they turn out to be entertaining, witty, full of knowledge and character, and I realise that before that they couldn't talk to me because they were conning their speeches!"

This was, of course, perfectly true and, in some ways, much to be regretted; but in what country is it different? I have attended many banquets in my life, in almost every country of the world, and I have found it the same everywhere. Sometimes the victims were not made unhappy by being told beforehand what was expected of them, but for important occasions it is a doubtful experiment to ask any, except a few recognised experts like Mr. Seth Low, Mr. Chauncey Depew, and General Horace Porter, to respond to a toast without a chance for preparation. It has often been my fortune at banquets to sit next one or more of the speakers, and I have looked with pity at their perspiring faces while they took advantage of every spare moment to glance over and study the typewritten copy of what they were later to say, or rather what the morning papers would declare they had said. The remedy for this system of punishment, which really causes many able men to shun banquets, is not in sight.

At this particular Boston banquet the speeches, as a rule, were unusually fine. They lacked the brusque Americanism which we had heard in the west, and which always brought more or less applause, but they were classical, finished, and witty, a little too much given to statistics, but generally fine. As each of the able speakers completed his task and resumed his seat the social air around the tables improved, and we were in a fair way to comfort and real enjoyment when we received a rude shock. A very distinguished man began his response to a toast. Everybody gave him close attention for half an hour or so, when interest seemed to flag. His voice was not as pleasant as it

might have been, and as time went on the long list of statistics lost their charm, and the whole company was in perfect sympathy against the man. We were simply bored to death, but no way of escape was open, and we had to sit still and bear it. It was one of the regular thirdly - fourthly - fifthly - in conclusion - and - one - word-more orations. The Prince caught Wilkie's eye and, with a twinkle in his own, slipped his hand into his breast coat pocket, where he knew the chief carried his gun. It was a suggestion to draw and shoot, and if Wilkie had been " up " on royal etiquette and had taken the royal wish for a command there would have been some decided democratic approval of justifiable homicide! All things must end, however, and eventually this banquet did. We were glad when the end came, because we were to attend a reception before the train left at two o'clock A.M. for New York.

Prince Henry was naturally anxious to see something of American home life, but up to this time he had not been able to visit a single private house. Mr. and Mrs. Montgomery Sears, of Boston, had kindly thrown open their beautiful home and tendered a reception to the Prince and his party. It was here that we spent the evening, or rather what remained of it, after the banquet. The change from the bustling hotel banquet room to the quiet luxury of this exquisite house was most striking. Everything was done in the former that could add to our comfort and that of the five or six hundred guests assembled, but here was all that wealth, culture, taste, and a long line of descent could produce. It was perfect, and we Americans of the party watched the Germans with interest while they inspected the rare

old books, manuscripts, and furniture in what must be considered a type of the best houses anywhere in our country. Later there was a reception for men, and then a delicate repast at which only four ladies appeared. It was here that the beautiful hostess appeared at her best, and made us all proud of the example of American womanhood.

## CHAPTER VIII

### PRINCE HENRY BIDS FAREWELL TO AMERICA

ONCE more in New York, we found that the quarters on the Hohenzollern had to be vacated, as several cases of scarlet fever had broken out among the crew. This was most disconcerting and in many ways unpleasant, but there was no help for it. So we moved, bag and baggage, to the Waldorf-Astoria hotel, where we were made most comfortable. We sadly missed the privacy and dignity of the royal yacht, and had to resort to all sorts of tricks to keep the public from swamping us with their kindly meant hospitality. Cranks of all kinds infested the hotel corridors, and the force of detectives had to be largely increased to keep them from actually forcing their way into the private quarters of the Prince. One particular woman crank—and they are the worst, though not the most dangerous—kept us dodging in the most ridiculous way for more than two days! She had some kind of invention which she carried about with her, as well as a description *in verse* of the same, and she was determined that Prince Henry should listen while she described the invention and read the verses. I tried hard to have her expend her energy on me, but I was not the game she was after; did not carry guns enough. For two days and nights Prince Henry and I moved lively, so to speak,

to find a new elevator each time we entered the hotel, for the lady always knew the last one we had used and was watching it to waylay us. A kind-hearted detective finally induced her to give up her quest, and was soundly abused for brutality in so doing. The good woman actually on one occasion sat all night in the corridor waiting for us. Many people could not understand why we could not give her the time she wanted. She was only a sample of many hundreds who haunted the halls and doorways of the Waldorf-Astoria, and the days were not long enough for us to gratify them all.

Of the many entertainments extended to Prince Henry in New York, he probably enjoyed the dinner at the University Club more than any other. The demands on the committee and the influence brought to bear upon them by the persons wishing to extend such courtesy were most surprising and hard to meet. The Prince expressed a desire to dine with the University Club, which had then just occupied its wonderful new club-house on Fifty-fourth Street, and the dinner was one to be remembered. The food was most delicate, the wines rare, and the company select. There was no speech-making, only a short address of welcome, no newspaper correspondents, but some of the finest music heard during the entire trip. Among other singers, we listened to Mr. Burleigh, a coloured man, who sang old southern melodies, to the intense delight of the Prince and his suite. The meal extended far into the night, and was followed by a short reception for the large number of club members who could not attend the dinner. It was after this entertainment that one of the distinguished German officers said something to me

that has caused me much thought many times since. Admiral von Tirpitz, Minister of Marine, was observing the men as they passed, when he suddenly turned to me and said, with considerable excitement:

"Why, you *have* developed a new type of men in this country. I do not see German faces here, nor Spanish, nor French faces. You have developed a new type of men. Your university men are a new class entirely!"

Since then I have thought that I could recognise the back of an American university man, even though I saw him in the wilds of Africa or the jungles of the Philippines.

Admiral von Tirpitz and I, naturally, had many professional talks, and the memory of them is a delight to me to this day. At that time the German navy was doing nothing about submarine boats, and when I asked him why he replied:

"We can't afford it. We can afford the money, but not the brains. We think we can utilise our mental energy to better advantage in developing fighting ships for the supremacy of the sea."

Could any but a profound thinker have given utterance to such a sentiment? It was in striking contrast to our methods, for when we began the building of our new navy, we first designed and built a despatch boat which almost wrecked the administration in power before we could accept her!

One of the most notable entertainments given Prince Henry during his stay in New York was by the Captains of Industry, as they were called—the millionaires or men of great wealth. The banquet was served

in the Metropolitan Club, and everything that money and good taste could do was done to make it successful, and it certainly was most brilliantly so. A telegram was sent to Kiel in the morning, asking the name of the Prince's favourite flower, which proved to be the gardenia, and when we entered the banquet room and were seated there was a large bunch of these beautiful flowers at his place, and *boutonnières* of the same for all the guests. Later, when the ladies entered and occupied the galleries, each one wore gardenias. When the coffee had been served, much to our surprise, we found that there was to be no speech-making, but instead the room was filled with the sound of most interesting conversation. Men of leading, even commanding, position, such as J. P. Morgan and Charles M. Schwab, the latter then president of the United States Steel Company, were in turn presented to his Royal Highness, and he pumped them to his heart's content. It was a most enjoyable evening, and gave him the opportunity he had sought for serious conversation with men who could answer the questions he put to them. The perfume of the flowers prevailed above the smoke of several hundred cigars, and the Prince several times smilingly acknowledged the compliment of the gardenias. From this date until he sailed gardenias were in great demand in New York at a most ridiculous price. I recall buying one of these plants in Japan once. It had over two hundred flowers or buds, and cost me one dollar and thirty cents!

The Press Club entertained Prince Henry at a banquet given in the Waldorf-Astoria, where twelve hundred men were seated at the tables. During the even-

ing ladies were admitted to the galleries, so that the room contained at one time nearly two thousand persons. It was a notable event, and brought together many distinguished men, Carl Schurz being one of them. Many speeches were, of course, made, and they were, as a rule, well worth the time given to them. Mr. Seth Low was by general consent the ablest, and certainly the most polished, orator of the evening. Prince Henry made a great impression by the wit and humour of his response, which was greatly applauded. Up to this time few people knew how perfectly he read and spoke the English language.

One of the first requests made of me when the Prince arrived in America was that I would, if possible, give him an opportunity to hear some of our old southern melodies—not the new "rag-time" horror, which he detested, as most musicians do, but the real thing, sung by native negroes. In order to meet his wishes as far as possible, I wrote to Booker T. Washington and the authorities at the Hampton Institute, and was fortunate enough to secure the services of the Hampton singers as a body. They came to New York and, on an evening set aside for the purpose, sang for the Prince and those who had been invited to join him. The music was beyond criticism, and we all thoroughly enjoyed the evening, but particularly was this the case with Prince Henry and his officers, nearly all of whom were trained musicians.

During an interval in the singing his Royal Highness asked me to present Dr. Washington to him, which I very gladly did, and the two were engaged in an interesting conversation for more than ten minutes.

The man who had demonstrated to the world the value of education for the masses—real education, *industrial* education—was evidently of much interest to this student of economic questions and master of his profession as a naval officer. Several of New York's leading men of affairs watched the meeting between the two, and when it was over expressed some surprise at the ease with which the coloured man bore himself. It was more readily understood, I think, when I reminded them that Booker T. Washington had been presented at more courts and had dined with more crowned heads than any other American then living.

Before the singers withdrew, a young Sioux Indian, in whom the Prince was much interested, gave us a song in his native tongue. It was curious, but lacked the melody which made the negro songs so touching.

As Prince Henry had visited one private house in Boston, it seemed only right that he should also visit one in New York. The committee had difficulty in finding the necessary time, but finally succeeded by doubling up two entertainments and giving them both in the same evening. Of the many invitations pressing upon him, the Prince accepted that of Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., for whom he expressed great admiration, particularly for Mrs. Vanderbilt, who, as he expressed it, "had helped her husband to be something besides a millionaire." The weather on the day of the luncheon was simply "poisonous," as an English friend of mine called it, but the good cheer and hospitality of the beautiful home soon made us forget all unpleasant things, and we thoroughly enjoyed the delightful repast prepared for us. Many of the ladies were

disappointed because they could not have German officers as escorts, but they had to console themselves with the fact that they had at least lunched with Royalty, which was more than could be said by many of their less fortunate friends. Mrs. Vanderbilt was the charming hostess she always is, and the refined air of her table was in striking contrast to that of many of the banquets we had attended. The spirit of hospitality was, of course, the same in all of them, and was thoroughly appreciated—it was the difference between an American *home* of wealth and the wealth of American hotels or clubs.

Prince Henry's visit to Philadelphia was somewhat marred by the fact that only a few hours could be spent in that city. We had a long ride to the shipyard of the Cramps' shipbuilding company, where the well-known hospitality and courtesy of that company made us feel at home. The Prince was much interested in the Russian cruiser Retvizan, just then nearing completion, which was to play such an ineffective part later on in the war between Japan and Russia. A short visit to the old State House, or Independence Hall, where his Royal Highness reviewed a number of the German veterans of the Franco-Prussian War, and a short luncheon at the Union League Club, marked the conclusion of the trip, and we returned to our comfortable quarters at the Waldorf-Astoria.

From a professional standpoint, the two most interesting trips were probably those to Annapolis and West Point. These two national universities were naturally objects of deep interest to the visitors. They were glad to see how the midshipmen and cadets were fed,

clothed, housed, and disciplined, but far beyond all this was the matter of education and training. These matters received the most careful attention, and every one, from the Prince down, was enthusiastic about Annapolis, and probably also about West Point, though I personally heard no criticism of the latter institution. Such would probably have been made to officers of the army, if at all. At Annapolis the weather was very bad during the visit, and the mud shoe-top deep and soft, but the midshipmen were paraded, and every nook and corner of the academy received the careful scrutiny of the keen-eyed German experts. Our system of educating young officers as shown at Annapolis differs radically from that of other countries, and particularly from that of Germany. It was not to be expected that Prince Henry and his officers would give unqualified approval to our system—indeed, many officers of our own service think it could be improved. For one thing, the Germans could not understand how officers so educated could control enlisted men on board ship, when such control was not practically a part of their education during their four-year term at the academy. I tried to explain this to them as well as I could, but I fear made little impression, because the kind of men to be controlled differs so widely in the two services that no common ground could be found on which we could stand. Many, if not the majority, of foreign officers believe that our discipline is not what it should be. This is because of their want of knowledge of our system, and particularly of the character of our enlisted men. We, on the other hand, feel that the absolute and unthinking obedience of their men, which is the result,

in great part, of class distinctions, would be entirely out of place with us, even if we felt that it would produce efficiency. I have watched and studied this question with deep interest for more than forty years in our own service and others, and I am satisfied that for us, with our form of government and the character of men *now* composing our enlisted force, we have the best system in the world. For others I can see that it might not succeed. I recall vividly my experience one Fourth of July in the harbour of Tsingtao, China, when we were entertaining the officers and men of the German fleet. All day we had races and athletic games, managed by the men of the four ships composing our squadron of which I was the commander-in-chief. In the evening the men took charge of the boats, which were beautifully illuminated, and, while the German officers were dining with our officers, proceeded, with bands of music and much song and cheering, to serenade the German ships, one after another. As the column of boats, filled with happy, contented, well-behaved men, passed my flagship the German admiral asked me how many officers I had in the boat, and when I replied that there was *not a single one* a curious look came into his face, and he said, "I don't think we could do that with our men." It was always my custom when in command to give the men just this kind of liberty, and then hold them responsible for good conduct. In other words, our effort is to make our men self-respecting and obedient for their own sakes, and not because of the presence of their officers.

At West Point we had snow and piercing cold weather instead of the rain and mud of Annapolis. The

drill plain was covered with a beautiful blanket of untracked snow about eight inches deep. In the centre of this had been placed a broad platform, on which we were to stand while the cadets passed in review, and as we approached it, our feet heavy with the clinging snow, Prince Henry stopped suddenly, turned to me and said:

"Please have those things removed. I object seriously to them!"

The camera habit, one of the most annoying nuisances of modern times, had followed us through the west, but we had not expected to find it at West Point. Of course, I conveyed the Prince's wishes to the commanding officer immediately, but unfortunately he had granted permission to place the instruments in position, and we stood in the snow for some time while the matter was being adjusted. Finally some officer of robust physique bundled the whole gang out of the way, and we took position for the review. Despite the snow and the heavy overcoats, the cadets marched by in the perfect manner so characteristic of the splendid corps. After a charming reception at the house of the superintendent, the German officers inspected the cadet quarters, mess hall, and recitation rooms, and then witnessed horseback riding and athletic exercises in the gymnasium. The military officers of the Prince's party found much to admire at West Point, but in a general way thought their own military methods better suited to their purposes. Here, again, as in the case of Annapolis, racial differences and conditions must be considered before passing judgment.

The royal yacht Hohenzollern, by reason of the

fever on board, was no longer of use, and took her departure for Kiel, via St. Thomas. Her officers and crew had made many warm friends in New York on account of their uniformly good conduct, and when she left, the docks were crowded with people to wish her a safe and pleasant homeward voyage.

The last days of Prince Henry's visit were dreadfully crowded; but he, nevertheless, found time to distribute the many handsome presents he had brought with him. So careful and thoughtful was he in this matter that every person who attended him, even to the porters who served him on his car, received some souvenir of his visit. As the time came for him to sail, on the Deutschland, of the Hamburg-American Line, his staff had to work night and day to pack and ship the large collection of things he had received. But so complete was the organisation of the party, and so able the individual units, that nothing was neglected, nothing forgotten.

My opportunity to give Prince Henry a personal entertainment of some sort came at last, when I had about given up all hope of such a pleasure. The committee somehow managed to find time for a luncheon, and I gave it at my club, the University, on Fifty-fourth Street. Covers were laid for forty, and the party included the Prince and all his people, a fair representation from each branch of our committee, and a selected number of personal friends from the club. The chef was at his best, and after our coffee Prince Henry expressed himself in words of praise for the club, which, he declared, met his ideas perfectly of a "University Club." For the luncheon, he was good enough

to say that it was one of the most enjoyable of all the entertainments he had had in our country, particularly because it had been given by an old personal friend.

I have often been asked the question, "Why did Prince Henry visit this country, and what were his impressions of it and of our people?" In answering this I can only give my own personal views, as I never heard any *official* expression on the subject. *Friendliness* was the key to the spirit and significance of the whole visit. The launching of the yacht built in this country for the Emperor was the opportunity for showing it. It may be that the very unpleasant sentiment aroused in this country by the action of the German naval force in Manila Bay during the Spanish-American War, and the feeling that Germany was determined on securing a coaling station somewhere in the West India Islands, had produced an effect which it was necessary and desirable to remove. The feeling on the part of our people, which was well known, had naturally produced a feeling of irritation on the other side far from friendly, and, as I have said, a desire to remove this and re-establish the cordial relations which had existed, and which were most natural between the two countries, may have had its influence. If this be true, it certainly was a most happy move on the part of the Emperor, judging by the results.

Another reason for the visit, certainly a most natural and laudable one, was a desire on the part of his Imperial Majesty to know more of the home life of the country that was drawing so heavily for its population on the Fatherland. How could he learn this in any other way so well as by sending his able, alert, and

accomplished brother to look the land over and then to give him his personal impressions? And, in order that his impressions might have full weight, he selected and sent with his brother a body of men the like of which has never come to us from any other country. Of the impressions produced on this body of able and distinguished men by their visit to our country and their intercourse with our people I can only give my personal opinion, backed by their very frank expressions. They seemed greatly pleased with most of the things they saw and heard, and deeply interested in others. Personally they expressed themselves, as of course they would, as overcome by the greatness and vastness of our country, and most grateful for the courtesies extended to them on all sides. What they reported officially to his Majesty on their return may never be known. If it ever is, I feel confident that the spirit of the report will not differ materially from their words to us.

It goes without saying that the Emperor of Germany and all the people of his great country must have felt pride and satisfaction over the treatment accorded their representatives by the people of the United States from the moment when the Meteor took the water, in the presence of the President and christened by his daughter, to the day they left our shores, followed by the good wishes of cheering thousands. Such a welcome from the masses of our population, as well as from the leader, had never before been given to any foreign representative, and the people of Germany, all over the world, must have felt the significance of it. A friendly visit conceived in a spirit of real interna-

tional friendliness had produced the happiest results, and we were all heartily glad that it was so.

Before sailing, Prince Henry gave a farewell dinner on board the Deutschland. All those who had accompanied him on his trip were present, and enjoyed an hour of familiar conversation, where true feeling found its way to the surface. Each one was toasted by his Royal Highness, and then, in a few heartfelt words, he expressed his warm personal thanks for the service we had done him. There was real sentiment in what he said, and we all felt it. As the representative of the navy, I said in reply when he toasted our service:

" Prince Henry and brother officers of the German service: representing the navy of the United States, I say to you that we are glad you came, we are sorry you are going, and we hope you will come again. It gives me pleasure to grasp the friendly hand so courteously extended to us across the North Atlantic."

The grasp that I received across the table convinced me that there was strength of muscle as well as friendship behind it.

Good-bye to you, Prince Henry, and all your gallant comrades. Good luck and happiness to you all. If you should unhappily be involved in war with some other country, I miss my guess if your enemy doesn't find the German navy a hard nut to crack.

When the Deutschland sailed I returned to my home in Washington, weary and short of sleep. I found my own bed so much more comfortable than the one in the sleeping car that I remained in it, insensible to the outside world, for forty-eight hours!

## CHAPTER IX

### ORDERED TO THE ASIATIC FLEET

After the close of the Spanish-American War, I had been fortunate enough to secure duty on the Lighthouse Board and had been elected its chairman, a position of dignity and responsibility. In former years I had served in every position an officer could fill under the board—inspector of a district, twice naval secretary of the board, and twice as a member of the board. Now that I was elected its chairman, I felt that I could render good service because of my experience in these various positions.

Aside from going to sea, in command either of a ship or a fleet, duty on the Lighthouse Board is the most desirable that a naval officer can have. It is independent, pleasant duty of the most responsible and important character, and, while more or less confining, it leaves time for an officer so inclined to enjoy life in the open air. Above all, it enables one to acquire a knowledge of our coast and inland waterways second only to that of the best pilots, and this may result in time of war to the great benefit of the country, as well as to the officer concerned. There is no position in which an officer can acquire more knowledge which may be of great value to him, than as inspector of one of the sixteen districts into which our coast and inland

waters are divided. As chairman of the board, it became a part of my duty to inspect all these districts and make suggestions for the improvement so necessary for the greatest efficiency, and I enjoyed it most thoroughly. It was often my good fortune to have the President and other high officials of the government accompany me on my inspection trips, and it was a great pleasure to point out to them the good work being done. I recall one trip when I had the President and the Secretary of the Treasury with me. The Lighthouse Board was then a part of the Treasury Department, but the Secretary, I think, was not aware of the fact until after we had started! During the trip we experienced some very bad weather, and our work was done with difficulty and some danger, but done, all the same, without a word of complaint from the men. Afterwards I heard the President say to the Secretary. "This is a branch of the government service in which I think the people get one hundred cents' worth for every dollar expended!" He was exactly right in his estimate. After a hard struggle, we had succeeded in entirely eliminating politics from the service, and, as its affairs were administered by selected officers of the navy and engineer corps of the army, it was only reasonable to expect that high state of efficiency and honest administration which those officers always exact.

Two years of this most agreeable duty was, however, all that I could reasonably expect under the circumstances. There was a feeling throughout the country, particularly in the navy, that our flag officers were not doing as much work as they should; in fact, that they arrived at flag rank at such an advanced age that they

could only do a year or two of service before they had to pass on to the retired list. How much truth there was in this idea I do not care to discuss here. Later on I may take it up. In my own case there was no room for question as to my duty, and certainly none as to my inclination. I had been favoured by unusual advancement, so that I reached flag rank at an age when I had seven years still to serve before retirement, and it was clearly my duty to spend those years at sea, if the Navy Department thought me worthy and would allow me to do so. My personal preference was always for duty afloat. The Secretary of the Navy was good enough to grant my request for detail to command the cruiser division of the Asiatic Fleet. The necessary orders were issued, making me second in command under my old friend Rear-Admiral Frederick Rodgers, then our commander-in-chief in the East. These orders were received before the visit of Prince Henry, and as soon as he left us my command of the special-service squadron, organised for his reception, ceased, and I prepared for more serious work.

That the success of any commander depends very largely upon the conduct and support of his assistants, those who execute his orders and give him advice when asked, is a fact not always acknowledged, but a fact of vital importance all the same. This is true of the smallest command, and equally true but of greater importance as the size of the command increases, because of the greater range and value of the work of the larger command. There are, of course, instances where a strong man, a genius, let us say, has succeeded, despite the half-hearted support, or even opposition, of those

under him, his subordinates; but history records few such cases, and even in these we can only surmise how much greater the success might have been had the support been more loyal. It seems to me clear, without any argument on the subject, that the commander-in-chief of a large naval force cannot expect the success his country has a right to demand of him unless he has, in the first place, proper and able men in his staff, and, in the second place, unless these men give him loyal and efficient support and advice when such advice is asked. The best results can be secured only when every officer and man gives to the efforts of the commander-in-chief his loyal and hearty support, his life, if need be, and the work of his staff must go a long way toward securing for him the feeling in the fleet which ensures this condition. Without a long search we can find many dismal failures for the want of such support.

Conditions in the East were such that it seemed probable that we might, at very short notice, be called upon for hard service, and this was, of itself, a strong attraction for work in that part of the world. To thinking men it was clear that war between Russia and Japan was only a question of time, possibly a very short time, and the position we should have to assume when the struggle came and how seriously we might become involved were most interesting questions. Our great Secretary of State, Mr. John Hay, had, with the consent of the President and the approval of the people of the United States, taken a position with reference to the question of an "open door" for our trade rights in China that might, at any moment, bring us into actual collision with Russia. Indeed, it was only a few

months later that a Russian officer of rank said to me, referring to a note that Mr. Hay had just addressed to the Russian government on the Manchurian question, "Such a note from any country, except America, to my country would bring an instant declaration of war." I chose to regard this as a compliment to our diplomacy, but I felt quite sure it was otherwise intended.

Having in mind my own comfort and reputation, as well as the interests of the service, I looked about me among the officers available for those to serve on my staff. I was fortunate in securing the detail of the following: Lieutenant F. L. Chapin, an ordnance expert and an officer of recognised ability and standing, as flag lieutenant; Lieutenant Thomas Washington, an officer well versed in law and the department routine, as well as an "all-round man" of hard common sense, as my flag secretary; and Lieutenant F. T. Evans, a fine, athletic, ambitious young officer, whose knowledge of seamanship, boats, and handling men was remarkable for one of his age, as aide and signal officer. Thus equipped with assistants, I felt that I could look forward to a fair measure of success in my new field of work.

There are periods in a man's life when luck seems to run his way, and this was the time that I could fairly claim that it was coming my way. The long, trying separations from my family which had necessarily followed my extended sea service had been a great hardship in my service afloat. The idea of two or three years' more of absence from them was anything but attractive, and fortunately for me was not to be experienced. My luck had turned and good fortune came my way. One of my daughters was married to a naval officer who was

on duty as naval attaché to the legation at Tokio, and I should be able to see her occasionally. My wife and younger daughter consented to go out with me, provided they could be located in the city with the daughter and sister, and this was arranged. Then my son and his wife joined the party, so that later we were able to have a Christmas dinner in the Japanese capital where every member of my immediate family was seated at the table. Modern means of transportation have greatly relieved the hardships of naval life in one respect, at least—an officer can now have the comfort of seeing his family occasionally without too great discomfort or expense for them in the journey. Formerly this was not possible, and many officers spent one-third or more of their time away from their growing families.

When all our plans had been arranged, transportation secured, and trunks checked, we left Washington on April 1, 1902, a merry party, bound to Yokohama by way of San Francisco. I must not fail to mention here that my faithful servant, George Duff, who had been with me in the New York at Kiel, was with me, and that his loyal and faithful service was to help me through many trying hours in the years to come.

The ease and comfort with which we crossed the continent were truly wonderful. At Chicago we changed, left the Pennsylvania Railroad, and, after dining at the Auditorium Hotel, took our seats in one of the fine cars of the well-equipped Santa Fé Railroad, and never left it, except sometimes for our meals, which were supplied by the Harvey system, which for comfort and luxury is not known on any other railroad in the

world. It certainly was a great surprise to pull into an artistically designed station in the Arizona desert, where the eye could not detect a spray of anything green, where the sun fairly baked the brains in one's head, and to find oneself served with a delightful meal. This was our experience on many occasions; indeed, I may say it was always the case as long as we were in the hands of the courteous officials of the Santa Fé Railroad.

The Palace Hotel was our home in San Francisco for the few days we remained there, and here again we were most comfortable and courteously looked after. The old house is gone now, tumbled down by the great earthquake, and the remains destroyed by the fire which later swept over the city. New and gorgeous hotels have been built at great expense, such as the ~~Fairview~~ Fairmont, and a new Palace Hotel occupies the site of the old one; but none of them can ever have the traditions of the old place. New San Francisco will no doubt be a wonderfully beautiful city, and its hotels and clubs far ahead of the old ones, yet they can never hope to be as attractive to those of us who have known both. This will be of little importance, however, for in a few years there will remain only those who know the new. The fine new steamers of the Northern Pacific road had not been completed at the time, so we had to cross the Pacific in a ship flying the English flag, which was not to the liking of a party so entirely American, but there was no help for it. We must either go in the Gaelic of the O. & O. Company, or submit to a long delay and then go to sea in a ship that we knew would not be as comfortable for us. So we

embarked in the good ship Gaelic, commanded by Captain Finch, as cheery a skipper as ever sailed under the blue ensign of Great Britain, which flew because the ship was commanded by an officer of the English Naval Reserve. That he was most capable and efficient, in every way qualified to care for the safety and comfort of his passengers, all those who have sailed with him will be glad to state. Our own flag having been practically driven from the Pacific by our archaic and unjust navigation laws and the sharp competition of subsidised foreign lines of steamers, we were compelled, as I have stated above, to sail under the English flag. This gave me the opportunity I had long desired to study the system under which these subsidised steamers were run and the service on them of officers of the Naval Reserve, the latter being the matter of greatest interest from a professional standpoint.

The Gaelic was manned by a Chinese crew, most of whom never left her for a moment, except in a Chinese port where they had family or friends. Their food was essentially Chinese and prepared by Chinese cooks. Each man was allowed a certain quantity of opium to smoke if he wished it, not in any case enough to injure him, and all were allowed to gamble, after the Chinese national fashion, during certain hours of the day. Everything was done, in other words, to keep these men in the condition in which they would ordinarily find themselves when employed on the coasting lines or in the large ports of their own country. The result was a happy, contented crew, who liked their ship better than the shore, regarded her as their home, and remained in her from year to year, gradually working up

to higher places, and always having in mind the interest of those who employed them. The sight of a "fantan" outfit spread on the decks of this ship during the meal hour, and a dozen or more Chinese sailors gambling for cash, seemed perfectly natural to me, for I knew from experience what it meant to those who were doing it and what would result from any attempt to stop it. Such amusement on a ship under the American flag would be impossible, no matter how good the results obtained might be. Our "reformers" would have fits even at the suggestion of such a thing, and, rather than have it actually tried, they would go to the same extent they went in the matter of the canteen for army posts—injure the men involved to a lamentable degree in order to uphold a theoretical fad of their own against the vote of over ninety per cent of those who, from long experience, knew what they were talking about.

Most of the officers of the Gaelic were officers of the English Naval Reserve, and were liable to be called to the colours for service in time of war. They were a fine lot of well-educated men, and I have never known a ship better disciplined or better kept. It was a real pleasure to go to sea under such conditions. My only regret was that the ship, and many more like her, could not fly the American flag.

In order that these officers of the Naval Reserve may keep themselves in proper training, they are allowed certain privileges. In the first place, the ship commanded by one of them is allowed to fly the English blue ensign, which naturally attracts passengers and freight, for it is a guarantee that the ship is well

commanded. It also carried other advantages which need not be mentioned here. While anchored in any port where there is an English man-of-war present, these Reserve officers may, if time permits, present themselves to the commanding officers of such ship and take their tour of drill and duty. They must receive at least thirty days' drill in each year. If they receive only a few days at one port, this is credited to them on their papers over the signature of the captain who directs the drill, and when they have thus received the necessary thirty days they can draw their pay for the year. The same rule applies to enlisted men. The whole scheme, the result of many years' experience, gives to England a splendid body of reserve officers and men to be called on in time of war. As far as I know, it is the best of all the schemes now being tried for the same purpose. When we are older as a nation and, maybe, have been roughly handled in one or two naval engagements, we may come to this or some similar plan. It does seem unfortunate that we should have to wait for this experience when we could avoid it by following either the example of others or taking the advice of able officers of our own service.

Our run from San Francisco to the Hawaiian Islands was pleasant but uneventful. We ate our four meals per day, took the usual amount of exercise on deck, sympathised with those who were sick, and greatly enjoyed the luxury of hot salt-water baths in large marble bath tubs. There was also a large canvas tank provided on the upper deck under the forward bridge, where those so disposed could have a real swim. We arrived off the bar at Honolulu early in the morn-

ing, but the customs officer could not be disturbed before eight o'clock, so we rolled about until that hour arrived, notwithstanding the fact that we had a large mail and fifty or sixty passengers for the place. Captain Finch took the matter more coolly than some of his passengers, and when I asked him why he did so, replied that if he made any protest about it the collector would manage to keep him waiting three hours instead of two! Feeling that the department in Washington would not approve of the leisurely methods of the collector, which held passengers and United States mail waiting while he finished his breakfast, after eight o'clock A.M., I sent in an official letter detailing the occurrence and protesting against what I considered an outrage. Some months afterwards I received a reply, written by a clerk in the Treasury Department, forwarding the reply of the collector. It was a short but very characteristic letter and, I must say, amusing. The collector assumed in his reply that "the gallant old admiral" had eaten something that disturbed his digestion, and advised that he be requested to confine his attention to naval matters, and not to comment on things that were no business of his! It is astonishing how soon a certain class of our paid servants assume to be our bosses, and act accordingly.

Upon landing in Honolulu our party was taken in hand by a number of kind friends, who gave us a most delightful day. We were driven through the charming little city out to the Pali for the view—certainly one of the most remarkable and fascinating in the world. If our travelling rich class knew of the beauties of the Sandwich Islands, I am sure many of them would cruise on

the Pacific two thousand miles to Honolulu rather than the same distance across the Atlantic. After visiting some of the most noted viewpoints and one or two of the sugar estates, we lunched with Prince David and his beautiful Princess, and were introduced to some of the native dishes, which we found delicate and savoury. The manner of eating these dishes was, however, a matter of surprise. One of the favourite breakfast or luncheon dishes is poï, a sort of porridge, or sticky mush. It is prepared from the bulb of a species of lily grown on the island, and is considered a healthful article of diet. It is known as "two" or "three finger poï," according to whether it is thick enough to be eaten with two or requires the use of three fingers of the hand instead of a spoon or fork. The natives never use anything except their fingers. No one can deny that the sight of a pretty woman eating poï with two delicately shaped white fingers, which she knows well how to use, is an attractive sight, but the same cannot be said for the man with large, brown, muscular fingers. It is even worse when a stranger to the custom attempts this mode of feeding, for he (or she) invariably smears his entire hand and a portion of his clothing with the sticky mass. As to the flavour of the poï, when I first ate it, it seemed to me about the same as that of some paste I once tasted which was being used by workmen who were papering a room. After some little practice, I found it quite possible as an article of food. I can recall, even at this late date, the first time I ever ate clams at a clambake—somehow I managed to fill my mouth with sand and the stringy skin that seemed to enclose the clam. When a pretty, refined young

woman prepared the clams and dropped them into my mouth I found them exceedingly good. So it was with poï!

Fish prepared by a native Hawaiian cook is one of the most delicate dishes ever put on a table. The favourite is a mullet which abounds in the waters about the island. It is rolled up in a large, savoury loaf, and then baked and served hot. I found it perfectly delicious, but before I had eaten half as much as I wanted I found my hands covered with grease up to my wrists, and I had to resort to soap and water before I could complete my meal, which I did with a fork, much to the amusement of my native friends. Of all the meat dishes, roast pig, or pork, is the favourite. It is roasted or baked in a pit dug in the ground, filled with wood and stones, after the fashion of our eastern clambake, and fired. After the ashes and most of the stones are removed, the whole pig is substituted. The pit is then covered carefully, and the heat in the ground cooks the flesh. The natives eat astonishing quantities of this most savoury food, and with it consume many very hot, fresh red peppers, which they gather from the pepper tree, always in evidence in every part of the islands. There are traditions that dog was once much liked prepared in the same way. While I make it a rule always to taste the foods of the various countries I visit, I think I should draw the line at dog. The memory of faithful old hunting companions would make it seem too much like cannibalism.

The fruits of the Hawaiian Islands are, of course, tropical, but of great variety and abundant in quantity. We were fortunate in finding them in great pro-

fusion and enjoyed them, not only during the time of our stay on shore, but for many days after sailing. The papaya, a fruit resembling a melon, is the one most used. It grows on a tree and is in season all the year, one part of the tree blooming while on other parts the fruit is ripening. In colour it is golden yellow when ripe, is about the size of a large cantaloupe, and contains more pepsin than any other fruit or vegetable known; hence it is a favourite breakfast fruit. With the possible exception of the Philippine mango, which has not been introduced into Honolulu, it has no superior among the tropical fruits. "Alligator pears" grow in abundance, but are not equal to some of the varieties grown in the West Indies. Guavas grow wild all over the islands, but, curiously enough, we never found guava jelly, the natives preferring to use the fruit while fresh.

In the evening, when the Gaelic was ready for sea, we had an opportunity to observe a custom—I may say a beautiful custom—not known elsewhere in the world. The native women or girls prepare from the highly coloured and scented flowers of the island ropes or garlands of flowers, and with these they decorate their friends before they embark, stringing the beautiful things about their necks and shoulders and around their waists. When we reached the deck of the ship the members of our party looked as if they had taken first prizes in a flower show, covered as they were with "laais," as they call these strands of flowers. In our state-rooms we found quantities of carnations and other sweet-scented flowers. They were, however, all committed to the deep a few hours later, when the ship

began to roll and the air ports had to be closed. The air in all the cabins soon became oppressive with what had been, a few hours before, a delicate and delightful perfume; now it was offensive to those unfortunates who suffer from seasickness. I have often noticed that those who were afflicted with this unpleasant and peculiar complaint object seriously to anything that smells of the land—most of them, in fact, object to everything in the nature of odours.

The people of the Hawaiian Islands, and particularly those of the city of Honolulu, have always been noted for their hospitality to our officers and men. In the old days, when we policed the Pacific, Honolulu was the favourite port for giving liberty to the men and replenishing the supply of fresh water and vegetables. Generally speaking, a ship could run out to the islands with a fair wind and, after spending a few months, during which time there were balls, dinners, picnics, and shooting parties for one to enjoy, could return under the same favourable weather conditions. The weather, comparatively speaking, was always good after you were once clear of the Pacific coast, and you could rely on these conditions until you again approached it on your return. Many of the old people of Honolulu and a few naval officers still living and on the retired list will recount to you by the hour the doings of the dear old days before steam and modern guns took all the poetry out of our profession, when the officers flirted, danced, and drank to their hearts' content without fear that the Navy Department would know of their performance. There was in those days no cable nor wireless system by which people in Wash-

ington could tell every hour of the day just what those in other parts of the world were doing. One of the stories often told, especially by some of the surviving officers, though I have heard it from an old resident of Honolulu, is of one of our officers, a commodore, who never failed to visit the islands when he could find the least excuse for doing so. He was fond of good dinners, and particularly of good wine. On one of his visits he and all the officers who could be spared from duty were entertained at a splendid banquet. One of the peculiarities of this commodore was that he always carried a large blue umbrella when visiting the shore. In the small hours of the morning, after much eating and drinking, the old man took his departure, followed by his officers. On the way to his boat he had to pass through a public square in which a very large fountain was playing all the time, and, passing too near it, felt its falling spray. He immediately stopped, hoisted his umbrella, and stood still in his tracks, and, when his officers came up, hailed them. "Pretty sharp shower, gentlemen. Heave to until it blows over!" Of course they "hove to" clear of the spray, where they remained until one of them persuaded the commodore that the shower was local, and that if he would haul by the wind on the port tack he would soon pull out of it. This he did, and the umbrella came down. A book could be written of such stories, but this one will suffice here.

The Hawaiians are, I believe, loyal to the new flag that flies over their land and still have for the navy much of the affection which they showed for it in the old days, notwithstanding the fact that our officers and

men were landed, on a very doubtful pretext, at the request of an ambitious minister, and took part by force of arms in a revolution which was still unborn. Such conduct on our part might have led to the bitter feeling shown for us by the Cubans and Filipinos, in whose behalf we made so many sacrifices. That it did not so result is a fortunate fact which a wiser head than mine may account for.

During one of my visits to Honolulu I was invited to a hunting party to shoot plover. We found the birds in almost incredible numbers, very fat, and of fine flavour when served. They were at once recognised as the "beetle" plover, or black-headed plover, a migrating game bird often found in considerable numbers on the Pacific coast and sometimes on the Atlantic coast of the United States. Upon studying the matter more closely, I found that they left our coast somewhere to the north of San Francisco, and in one flight —there was no resting place for them *en route*—made the Sandwich Islands, a distance, as the crow flies, of about twenty-three hundred miles. They always started with a northeast or northerly gale, and thus secured a fair wind most of the way. After remaining on the meadows of the islands for about three months, where they became very fat, they started on the return trip, waiting always for a strong southerly wind to help them on their way. The "beetle" plover is a strong, rapid flyer, about the size of a blue rock pigeon, but without my experience at Honolulu and subsequent study I would not have believed that he was capable of such a protracted flight.

Our trip from Honolulu to Yokohama was pleas-

ant in every way, but dreadfully lonesome. The surface of the Pacific was like the proverbial mill pond most of the way, until we approached the coast of Japan, when it was rough enough to suit the oldest "salt" on the ship. During all this long run we did not sight a single vessel of any kind or description, which made the story of one of our soldiers who fell overboard from a transport the more remarkable. The transport was conveying troops from San Francisco to Manila, when the man fell overboard at night and was not missed for several hours. When his absence was discovered, the ship was stopped and search made, but of course the man, being then many miles astern, was not found. Being a good swimmer, the soldier, on finding himself in the water and the ship disappearing in the distance, made up his mind to swim as long as he could before giving up hope. After keeping himself afloat for some time, he found a piece of driftwood which was large enough to sustain his weight, and on this he rested. Some time during the following day he was picked up by a Japanese fishing schooner, probably the only vessel within a radius of many thousand miles. The transport went on her way and reported the loss of the man, who was later landed by the schooner at Nagasaki, where he caught a steamer for Manila, and in due time reported to his regiment. Of course, I don't vouch for this story, but this is the way it was told to me. If ever a man was justified in buying lottery tickets, certainly this soldier was the man, for, with his luck, he could not invest his spare change in any other way and hope for so large a return!

Captain Finch made a fine landfall, or, in other

words, was accurate in his navigation, and we entered the beautiful bay of Yokohama on the day and at the hour scheduled before leaving San Francisco. We had enjoyed eating fresh meat, fresh fruit, and fresh oysters every day of our trip, and in the cold-storage rooms of the Gaelic were enough fresh oysters remaining to last to Manila and then back to San Francisco.

We made the trip from Washington, D. C., to the entrance to the harbour of Yokohama between April 1st and April 27th, with two days' delay at San Francisco and one at Honolulu, and had never had one ration of salt food offered us except by request. The quantity of pure, fresh water furnished us was without limit, and clear, crystal ice was always ready when called for. All this was a great surprise to me, for on my former cruises I had lived generally out of "tins" and drunk water that was frequently red with iron rust and ropy with sediment. Instead of ice water, we were glad to cool the allowance served out to us in a clay jar, called a "monkey," which was porous and when hung in the wind cooled the water it contained by evaporation. Of course, we always had the navy ration of pork and beans and salt beef, or "salt horse," as it was called, but these did not seem attractive when compared in memory with the fine cuts of fresh beef and mutton supplied on the Gaelic. The wonderful improvements in the comforts of sea life by the introduction of cold-storage processes was clearly shown on this cruise, and I have no doubt that in a few years the luxury of ship life will be so great that it will be impossible to make people believe the true story of life in the old days.

## CHAPTER X

### IN JAPAN

During the afternoon of April 27th we entered the beautiful bay of Yokohama, but we saw little that was attractive because of the weather—it was raining in a steady downpour, with more or less of fog. It was clear enough, however, for one to see the great changes that had taken place in the defences of the channel. Where formerly a few old smooth-bore guns were in position to dispute the passage of an enemy's fleet, modern high-powered twelve-inch rifles in great numbers now frowned down on us. Battery after battery of these guns could be seen, and we knew that many others, perhaps even stronger, were concealed. It did not look like anything in the nature of a picnic or holiday performance to take a fleet past them unless the Japanese were willing to have one do so. After passing the outer batteries I was looking about, trying to locate the position of the wreck of the United States sloop-of-war Oneida, which had been sunk in this vicinity about thirty-five years before. She was run down by the British merchant steamer Bombay and carried to the bottom, with over two hundred officers and men. While thus engaged I sighted what at first appeared to be two islands, one on either side of the channel and not far from it. I knew, of course, that there were no

islands there—at least none when last I passed out of the bay many years before. A close inspection as we ran by them showed that they really were artificial islands, and on each was a fort of great defensive power. I had read of these forts, and was interested to see what they amounted to. They proved to be of stone and concrete construction, and commanded the channel so perfectly that it would be practically impossible for a fleet to pass until they had been destroyed or silenced.

The question of how these batteries had been constructed was particularly interesting to navy men, for the reason that we had urged that the same kind of defence should be adopted for the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, between Capes Charles and Henry. Our engineer officers had always decided against the scheme, and gave many reasons for so doing, the principal objection being the depth of water in which the foundations would have to be laid. In our case this depth is something less than forty-two feet. In the case of the Japanese forts it was one hundred and fourteen. Judging from what I afterwards saw of the Japanese engineers, I feel sure they would have built the fort in four hundred feet of water if it had been desirable to do so. That the officers of our engineer corps are as able as those of any other country in the world every one who has had dealings with them will gladly admit. If they have fallen behind the Japanese in the matter of harbour-defence works, we may be sure there is some good reason for it, and it might be that the manner of supplying funds and actually doing the work will furnish this reason. When the Emperor of Japan is satisfied by the advice of his officers that a fort should be built to defend a certain

point, or that a number of battleships should be constructed, he gives the order to have it done. Parliament finds the money as it is required, and the work progresses rapidly to completion. Labour and material are much cheaper in Japan than they are with us, and the patriotism of the people is such that they would even supply both without compensation were it necessary. Who ever heard of "shoddy" clothing or defective ammunition in the Japanese army or navy during the late war between that country and Russia? And who has not heard of these same disgraceful things in the wars of other nations? Any one who will take the trouble to look into the matter will find that the lack of proper coast defences in the United States cannot be charged either to the President or the officers of the corps of engineers.

After hundreds of reports had been made pointing out the necessity for such work, and many plans submitted showing how and why it should be done, Congress finally appointed a committee to consider and look into the matter. After years of looking and considering, they reported, practically adopting the plans which had been before them all the time. Then, after a few years' more consideration, enough money was appropriated to begin work on a few forts, which, as a rule, were located near the cities large enough and strong enough *politically* to force compliance with the demands of their representatives. The small amount of money thus appropriated was soon expended, the work stopped, and the machinery used in construction left unemployed until another appropriation, when it was found that it required a considerable sum to again put it

in working order. Each year the Secretary of War submits an estimate for funds, carefully prepared by the chief of engineers, and one or two committees of Congress take charge of it. Sometimes they refuse to make any appropriation, at other times they cut the estimate in half, and so the work drags slowly along from year to year. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the results of the patriotic and persistent effort of the late President of the United States in the matter of new battleships. It may be that Japanese methods would not suit us. Be that as it may, she has complete and efficient coast defence, and we have quite the reverse. If our enemies had dared to attack us in the past as hers did Japan, I have no doubt our condition in this respect would be far different from what it is.

The first thing that struck me on entering the harbour of Yokohama was the wonderful change that had taken place there since I last visited the city. Even through the drizzling rain and fog it looked new and much improved. The large amount of money which had been returned to them by the United States had been used by the Japanese in constructing a fine breakwater, which makes the port one of the safest and most comfortable for shipping of any on the coast. In former years a hard gale of wind would play havoc with all vessels, large and small, anchored here, because of the heavy sea that came rolling in from Yeddo Bay. Now it was entirely different. The breakwater, crescent shaped, enclosed a large area, and behind it the water was always smooth and safe. No matter how hard the blow, or how bad the sea outside, behind

this protection all vessels and boats were safe. Only merchant ships were allowed to use the inner anchorage, because of its limited area, and at the time of our arrival it was so crowded that there was hardly room for another vessel. All men-of-war were compelled to anchor outside the breakwater, which was no hardship, as they were always under steam and ready to take care of themselves in case of danger. When a ship was under repairs, however, this rule was not enforced.

It had been my good fortune, during a former cruise in the East, to be in Yokohama harbour when the first steam vessel ever owned by the Japanese government came in and anchored. Now I was to see how much advance had been made, and how many beautiful ships were owned, not only by the government, but by merchants as well. As a result of the liberal subsidy granted by the government, the Japanese flag flew over one of the finest fleets of merchant, freight, and passenger ships in the world. They were all built and owned under specifications which permitted of their use by the government if necessary in case of war, and this wise provision was to have a thorough, practical test before many years had passed.

Upon inquiry I found that first-class passenger ships plied between Yokohama and the Pacific ports of Canada and the United States, commanded by Japanese officers and manned by Japanese sailors, and that well-conducted lines of first-class ships ran to all the European and Mediterranean ports, officered and manned in the same way. To my great surprise, I found that the best ships for both freight and passenger lines were

being built in Japan by native labour and of native material. The cost of their construction was so slight that outside competition was impossible, either in building the ships or conducting the lines afterwards. The result was that every port in China and Japan, in fact, in the entire East, had its line of Japanese merchant ships, all heavily subsidised by the government. It certainly was a marvellous change from what I had seen in this country thirty-five years before; and when we consider that in other branches the growth and improvement had been even greater than in shipping and water transportation, we are forced to admit that the wonderful progress of this nation has no parallel in history.

In less than forty years they completely changed their form of government; established a sound financial system; organised an army and a navy second to none in the world in courage and efficiency; established diplomatic relations with all the world; and sent their merchant vessels to every important port on the globe. What other people ever did so much in so short a time?

When the ladies of my family had been landed and comfortably housed, I went at once on board my flagship, with my staff, and on the following day, April 28th, assumed command of the northern division of the Asiatic Fleet, afterwards known as the cruiser division. My old and valued friend Rear-Admiral Frederick Rodgers, the commander-in-chief of the station, was in the Philippines in his flagship, the cruiser New York, doing what he could to help the army in their efforts to reduce the Filipinos to a proper state of respect for the authority of the United States. He had

made ample provision for my comfort before sailing by detailing for my flagship the fine new battleship Kentucky, commanded by Captain Stockton, an officer of exceptional ability, who afterwards served as my chief of staff. My order assuming command was published a few hours after I arrived on board, and then I found the days too short for the work I had to do. One who has never been through the mill can scarcely realise the vast amount of detail work an officer has to face under such circumstances. As time goes on and he gets the run of things and has a chance to study the history of what has been done and get in touch with the thousand and one things requiring his attention, the duty becomes easier and less exacting, until finally it is pure pleasure to perform it.

The etiquette between officers of the navy and our civil representatives abroad is strict and punctiliously observed. Because of trouble in the past on this score many regulations have been framed, and they are carefully observed. Within twenty-four hours of assuming command I called, with my staff, in full-dress uniform, on our minister in Tokio, informed him of my orders, paid my respects to him and his family, and requested that he take the proper steps to have me presented to the Emperor and the officers of the cabinet, all of which he afterwards did with great courtesy. Then we went through the form of calling on the members of the imperial family by leaving cards at their houses. Then the same was done for all the foreign ambassadors. This consumed the entire day, and I returned to my flagship to wait for notice as to when I would be received by his Majesty the Emperor. I took advan-

tage of this waiting time to inform the minister to China and Korea officially of having assumed command, and then did the same for the admiral or officer in command of each foreign naval force in the station. This, with the detail work of my own command, made me wish that the days were forty-eight hours long instead of twenty-four!

On May 2d his Excellency, Count d'Arco Valley, the German minister to Japan, on behalf of himself and the German residents of Tokio and Yokohama, tendered me a reception at the Germania Club, in Yokohama. The various diplomatic and consular representatives accredited to Japan, many Japanese officials, and leading foreigners of Tokio and Yokohama were present. All the American officers who could be spared from duty were present to show their appreciation of the unusual courtesy shown us by Count d'Arco Valley, which, though extended to me by name, was, of course, intended as a compliment to my country. The finest supper that Yokohama could furnish was served at midnight, and when I left at 3 A.M., dancing was still in progress. This reception was the first echo of Prince Henry's visit to America and my service on his staff. It was repeated on every occasion during my tour on the station whenever I fell in with officers of the German government, either civil or military. Their courtesy to me was constant and unfailing, and extended to every officer and man under my command. I conceived for Count d'Arco Valley not only a feeling of great respect, but also of warm friendship. He represented his country with great dignity and force without, as far as I ever heard, giving offence or injuring the feel-

ings of any one. He was a kindly soul, filled only with charity and love for his fellow-men.

Our minister, Mr. Buck, having informed me that their imperial Majesties would receive me in audience on May 3d, I proceeded to Tokio with my staff on the morning of that day and at the hour appointed, and was received by the Emperor, and half an hour later by the Empress. All receptions at the Japanese court are most formal, and every point of etiquette carefully observed; but the grand master of ceremonies is so tactful and courteous that we passed through the ordeal most pleasantly and without embarrassment. When I was presented to his Majesty he extended his hand very cordially, and showed every sign of great friendship for the country I had the honour of representing. He was dressed in the full uniform of a field marshal of France —red trousers and blue coat, both heavily trimmed with gold braid, and his breast well covered with decorations. His clothes fitted him so badly that I was impelled to mention it afterwards, when I was informed that the reason for it was that his tailor when measuring him was not allowed to look at him, but had to get his dimensions by feeling for them, while his eyes remained fixed on the floor. This explanation would explain the misfit, but I doubt the accuracy of it, because I believe his Majesty has too much good common sense to put up with anything so foolish. But it is quite possible that the awe and reverence felt for this wonderful monarch might prevent his tailor from using his skill and handicraft to the best advantage.

After the ordinary assurances that one always receives and gives on such occasions, "high esteem in

which his and your country are held," etc., etc., the Emperor said through his interpreter:

"I understand, Admiral, that you were in Japan years ago. Do you find many changes?"

"Yes, your Majesty," I replied, "I was here years ago, and I find *everything* changed except Fujiyama!"

Fujiyama is the beautiful mountain, almost sacred to the Japanese, which stands in plain sight of Yokohama and Tokio. My reply seemed to interest as well as amuse him, and led to a pretty sharp cross-examination. He wanted to know *how* I found things so changed, and I told him, beginning with himself as an illustration. I said:

"You will recall, your Majesty, that at the time of my former visit you were a youth, confined generally to a temple and regarded as a sacred being. Now you are Emperor of a great country, a constitutional monarchy, held in respect by all the world; then Japan had a navy composed of a few old sailing ships, to-day her battleships are second to none in the world; then her army was divided into sections, or cliques, each one owing allegiance to some Daimio or Baron, and all dressed in grass clothing and armed with swords or pikes, while to-day she has one of the best-organised armies in the world, up to date in every detail, and wonderful in efficiency; then there was not a foot of railroad or a yard of telegraph or electric-light wire in all the land, while to-day your country is gridironed with railroads, girdled with telegraph lines, and your cities beautifully lighted by electricity!"

As I went on, his face was a study. Always a strong, rather hard face, it softened as he listened to

me, his eyes flashed, and he smiled with satisfaction at my description. My audience lasted about fifteen minutes, and when it was over and I had backed out of the royal presence I felt sure that I had been talking with one of the greatest and strongest men I had ever met. At the time of which I speak he was deeply concerned over the relations of his country with Russia, which grew more and more strained each day. It was reported and believed that he worked eighteen hours out of every twenty-four, and I have no reason to doubt the statement.

The officers of my staff having all been presented to the Emperor, we withdrew and were conducted to the apartments of the Empress, where we were most graciously received by her Majesty. The hand-kissing custom of so many foreign courts was not favoured or practised in Japan; instead, I received a handshake from a very shapely and beautiful hand. I found the Empress a woman of great refinement, perfect ease of manner, so delicate in appearance and small of figure as to remind one of some fine piece of Dresden china, attired in a Paris gown of heliotrope brocade. The few words she exchanged with me gave me the impression that she had the same friendly feeling for us as had been so graciously expressed by his Majesty the Emperor. The ill fit of the beautiful Paris gown worn by the Empress was accounted for in the same way as the baggy trousers of the Emperor. After a year in Japan I was satisfied that it was due to the fact that a tailor would not touch the person of either of their Majesties; that they looked at them, and then guessed at what the measurement should be!

After being presented at court, calls had to be made on each member of the cabinet. These were all most interesting, as they gave me a chance to see the men who were to play such prominent parts in the struggle with Russia, that was now rapidly approaching the point of diplomatic rupture between the two countries. At the war office I had the pleasure of meeting General Oyama, who later led the armies in the field. The Minister of Marine, Vice-Admiral Baron Yamamoto, had appointed an hour for my call, and after half an hour with him in his private office he invited me to luncheon, where I found a number of the most prominent officers of the Japanese navy assembled to meet me, Admiral Togo being one of them. The conversation during the time we were at table was of a general character, with very friendly references to Commodore Perry's expedition and its influence on Japan. After luncheon I had another short talk with Baron Yamamoto, in which he made it very plain to me that the course of aggression then being followed by Russia toward his country would, if persisted in, inevitably lead to war. He was very earnest, but, like all of the men of his nation, his face was absolutely without expression, except now and then his eyes would blaze like a coal of fire. In every word and gesture he showed the spirit that afterwards resulted in the wonderful victories of the Japanese navy under his administration.

While all this official calling was being done—and it is astonishing how much time it takes—I was busy in my leisure moments arranging for a trip around the station to see by personal inspection just what the con-

ditions were and how to better them. The Kentucky required docking, and, as the United States did not own a dock in the East that would take anything larger than a small gunboat, we had to rely on the good-will of others for our docking facilities. There was one private dock at Hong Kong, China, that would receive the Kentucky, but the bubonic plague was raging at that port, and I did not care to take the chance of infection from that complaint if it could be avoided. A request was sent to our minister at Tokio that he obtain permission from the government to dock the flagship at the navy yard at Yokosuka when convenient for the Japanese officers to do so. The request was promptly granted, the ship docked, cleaned, and painted, and such repairs as were necessary made, the charges for the work being the same as they would have been for a Japanese ship.

From the moment I took command of the squadron I had constantly in mind the last words spoken to me by President Roosevelt before leaving Washington. I had called on him to say good-bye, and, having in mind the conditions in the East, I asked if he had any special instructions for me.

"Yes, sir," he replied. "Be sure every night when you turn in that your command is in better shape for a fight than it was when you turned out in the morning!"

Very simple and straight from the shoulder, surely, and from the look of his chin and the way his teeth came together I understood that he meant what he said. During all my command of that force and, later, a much larger one, I endeavoured to carry out these orders—the spirit of them at least.

The policy of scattering our ships about over the station never seemed to me a good one, except in the case of small gunboats for river service. At times, however, it was necessary to do so because of the demands of our diplomats, our missionaries, and American interests generally. As a rule, I felt that it was most important, from every point of view, that the squadron should be kept together. There is no greater incentive to efficiency than the emulation that comes between officers and crews when several ships are in company, and, to my mind, if one ship can make a good impression, a squadron will make a much better and more lasting one. I was assured at the Navy Department, before leaving Washington, that this was the view entertained there, and that they wished it carried out as far as possible.

The Kentucky was reported ready for sea, and on May 19th we left Yokohama and ran down to Kobe for three days, and then through the beautiful inland sea by way of the straits of Shimoniseki to Nagasaki, where we found the New Orleans, a sloop-of-war, or, more properly speaking, an unarmoured cruiser, purchased in England at the breaking out of the war with Spain. She was under command of Captain C. S. Sperry, and in excellent condition.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE GERMAN NAVAL STATION IN CHINA

It had been my intention to spend a week or ten days at Nagasaki, but on my arrival I found Asiatic cholera of a very virulent nature among the natives on the water front, which determined me to go on at once to the new German naval station at Tsingtao, in the province of Kiaochao. There was much interest in the Navy Department as to what was being done at this point, and I felt sure that the German authorities would give me any information that I could reasonably ask of them.

We arrived at Tsingtao on the 30th of May, after spending two days at sea manœuvring the Kentucky and New Orleans in preliminary fleet work. Our reception was most cordial, and every one, from the governor down to the private soldiers, did all that was possible to make us comfortable and to show their friendly feeling for us and our country. The German fleet was in port, and we had an excellent opportunity to witness some of their most interesting work. The admiral in command and the governor each detailed an officer of rank to conduct me over the entire reservation, show me what had been done, and to explain to me the plans for the completion of this great commercial port and harbour of refuge. They also permitted our intelli-

gence officers to go out on the railroad, which had been completed something over one hundred miles, and which would, later on, tap the valuable coal deposits and bring the fuel to Tsingtao.

A short account of this German colony may prove of interest. During the early nineties a German missionary was foully murdered somewhere in the province of Kiaochao, on the Shantung Peninsula. Germany, of course, demanded immediate satisfaction, and Prince Henry was sent out there in command of a German squadron to explain just what kind of satisfaction would be accepted. After much diplomatic correspondence, backed on one side by a strong naval force, commanded by a determined officer, who ranked the diplomats by reason of his relationship to his Majesty the Emperor, the negotiations were concluded, and the outside world awoke to the fact that Germany had secured the lease of one of the best harbours in China for ninety-nine years. Human life is a valuable thing, and every government has the right to place such valuation on the lives of its subjects as may seem necessary to protect them. This they always do after the person is dead. It would seem, at first thought, that it would be a fairer proposition to state beforehand just what compensation would be exacted for each life taken. The other plan, determining what the compensation shall be after the death of the subject, has very decided advantages, however, for one side at least, and this was never more clearly shown than in the case of this unfortunate missionary. History, I think, does not reveal to us the life of any other man which was held at such a high figure! It is quite possible that the killing of the poor

missionary was not so serious a matter as was the insult to his government, and in such cases the compensation demanded depends largely upon the needs of the insulted government in that particular locality. What was the thing most necessary to German interests in that part of the world?

England, as is well known, has two very important stations, or, in military parlance, *bases*, in China, and because of her vast commercial interests it was generally conceded that she was entitled to have them. Hong Kong she owned outright and had fortified so extensively that it was considered the Gibraltar of the East. Then she held Wei-hei-wei, a Chinese port a short distance south of Tsingtao, under a lease from the Chinese government, and used it as a naval base. It was not easily fortified—that is to say, the surrounding land was not advantageous for forts to defend the entrance. The English officers, one school of them at least, did not regard it as of much military importance.

Russia owned one fine base in the far north, Vladivostock, but because of the heavy ice in the winter it was not of real practical value. For operations in China it was absolutely of no value unless Russia were on friendly terms with Japan, because the latter controlled the intervening waters. Immediately after the war between China and Japan, and when the latter had clearly won Port Arthur and was entitled to hold it permanently, England, Germany, and Russia combined to prevent her doing so, and Russia got possession of the valuable and coveted port only because one of her torpedo boats proved more speedy than an English cruiser. Both were racing for

the port with orders to hoist the flag and take possession, but the torpedo boat arrived first, and when the cruiser anchored the Russian flag was flying over the place.

Once in actual occupation, Russian engineers hurriedly fortified the place, both on the land and water sides. Vast sums of money were spent in constructing forts which, viewed from the outside, seemed to warrant the assumption that it was impregnable, but when the Japanese army, under the gallant Nogi, later on undertook its reduction this assumption was not borne out. Dalny, a port near Port Arthur, of which I shall write later on, was constructed at great cost, and would have proved of great value to Russian interests; but it fell with Port Arthur, and Russia again found herself without the ice-free port for which she had struggled so long. When and where she will make her next effort no one can say, but that present conditions, in that respect, are almost intolerable all must concede. If any nation, other than China, is to hold Port Arthur and Dalny, all fair-minded men will admit that Japan is the one because of the price in blood she has paid for it. Likewise, I think the historian of the future will claim that Russia was fairly entitled to Constantinople after her magnificent campaign over the Balkans against the Turks. If England had not interfered to prevent it, Russia would have settled down in her ice-free port on the Bosphorus, all the world would have been benefited, and the trouble that came afterwards over Manchuria might have been avoided.

It was plain to all thinking men that Germany needed two things—a navy strong enough to protect

her rapidly growing merchant marine, and fortified bases abroad from which she could operate effectively in case of necessity. A finely organised navy league promised to supply the first in the course of time, and the death of the missionary, or rather the manner of his death, was the entering wedge for the other. Whether this wedge will be driven home to its full extent may depend somewhat upon the interests of other nations in the East. The Emperor recognised his opportunity, and, as usual with him, acted at once by sending, as before stated, a strong naval force, commanded by his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, to demand from the Dowager Empress of China the one thing he most desired—a naval station on the coast of China. The demand was eventually granted, the navy took possession, and then began the developments of the port of Tsingtao.

The concession thus obtained was a most valuable one. Besides containing one of the finest and most capacious harbours in China, it included a large amount of territory, extending back nearly one hundred miles in the direction of valuable coal mines. Once in actual possession, the German authorities went to work in their usual thorough manner. Prince Henry and the Princess Irene established themselves in a temple in the Chinese village, where they lived for many months while the work of building forts, barracks, and officers' quarters went on. As these were completed, they were occupied by troops from Germany, and the place soon had the aspect of a fortified military camp. Heavy guns were mounted in forts at commanding points, and barracks of the most modern construction were com-

pleted capable of housing a large number of troops. While all this was being done the commercial features of the port were not neglected. Complete plans were prepared which provided for harbour facilities equal to any to be found east of Suez. A large stone breakwater was projected and work on it begun. This was to enclose a large area of the inner harbour and render the landing of passengers and freight both comfortable and safe in any kind of weather. At the time of my visit this work and that on the docks was approaching completion, and I never saw finer construction anywhere in the world.

During the progress of these improvements friction developed between the soldiers and the natives, which led in the end to a conflict in which some of the soldiers were wounded and a number of the Chinese killed. This clearly showed that the boundaries of the concession were too contracted—in other words, there was not room enough for both parties; more land must be conceded at once. This was granted, and the lines extended in every direction except, of course, toward the water. The valuable coal mines mentioned above were included in the newly ceded territory and became the property of the German government. A finely constructed railroad was at once built to these mines, and fuel from them was soon being delivered at Tsingtao.

To show how complete the work of the new occupants was, I will give an example. The Chinese town of Tsingtao was located on the water front, as is the case with most fishing towns all over the world. The land thus held was wanted for the proper development of the new city, and it must, therefore, be cleared of the

native houses, which were declared to be, and undoubtedly were, unsanitary and a threat to the health of the entire community. A new site was selected for the Chinese town, about four or five miles away, excellent sanitary houses were built, a fine water supply was furnished, and a good road made to the port. Then the Chinese people, bag and baggage, were moved to their new homes and the old city razed to the ground. A few buildings, such as the temple in which Prince Henry had lived, were left standing, but all the rest were torn down, the débris removed, and a fine public park took the place of the once filthy Chinese town. A portion of the park was given up to a beautiful garden, in which, among other things, over one hundred thousand young trees of various kinds were planted. In addition, much of the land on the surrounding hills was utilised, until over one million trees had been planted. This part of China is devoid of anything like shade trees, but the thoroughgoing Germans intended to see to it that this condition was changed, and I wish them every success.

In laying out their new city those in charge showed wonderful sense and judgment. Near the steamboat wharves ample space was left for warehouses and the like; then came the business portion for native merchants, and here great care was shown in the construction of the houses, built by the government and leased to the tenants. Each one was designed to give plenty of light and fresh air and permit thorough inspection at any time; then followed the business quarter for foreign merchants, where any one, under certain reasonable restrictions, could build his store and conduct his business.

Farther along still came the residence district, and then on the water front, overlooking the most beautiful sand beach in China, came the site for hotels. Owing to its geographical position and fine climate, Tsingtao will attract a great many people from places south of it, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, in the summer and from places north of it in winter. It has, therefore, a fine prospect of becoming the greatest seaside resort in all the East. Its value as a naval base cannot be overestimated; its possession simply puts Germany in a better position for military operations than any other nation, with the single exception of Japan. The money spent at Tsingtao has caused much unfavourable comment from those politically opposed to his Majesty the Emperor, but, unless all leading professional minds are very wrong, the day will come when it will be plain to all that the indemnity exacted for the death of the missionary, and the subsequent development of Tsingtao, was one of the greatest plays ever made by this giant among rulers, the Emperor of Germany.

During our stay at Tsingtao we were allowed to inspect the rifle ranges on shore, where the troops were constantly at practice from daylight until sundown. Our ordnance officers obtained much valuable information in this way, but nothing bearing on their method of naval practice could be learned. They kept that a profound secret, and, of course, we could not ask them to give it away. We saw their great gun targets, however, when they were towed in at night, and learned that all their firing was done at sea. The targets we had a chance to inspect did not show very severe punishment, which was accounted for by the fact that only

newly arrived recruits had been firing at them. As to how the range of the target was obtained, or the kind of sights in use, we could get no hint, which seemed curious to us, particularly in reference to the sights, as we kept ours on the guns, as a rule, where any one wishing to do so could examine them. They were so bad that we would have been glad to have any other navy adopt them! Later, when this condition had been changed, we were as careful to conceal them as the German officers were to hide theirs.

In the important matter of changing the crews, relieving the men whose term of service had expired, the admiral was kind enough to give me full details, and I found them of such interest that I reported them to the Navy Department. On leaving home, the crews of the German ships for the Asiatic station were so arranged that the time of *half* of each ship's company expired at practically the same time. A transport from home, each year, brought out the new men; the fleet was assembled at Tsingtao; the transfer was made in one day, and the old men sent home. Thus each ship found herself with one-half her men absolutely without ship training, as they had come from barracks on shore, where they were mustered for their turn of compulsory military duty. Each new man, after reaching his ship, was placed in charge of his mate, or comrade, who proceeded at once to teach him the duties of his station. It was astonishing to see how short a time was necessary under this system to bring a ship's company to an efficient state of drill. In our own service we have no such system—nothing to compare with it. In the English service the crew of a ship on the Asiatic station serves

three years, and is then required to scrape and repaint the ship and put her in first-class condition, when they are relieved and a new lot takes charge. With us we simply discharge men, day by day, as their term expires, and send them home by mail steamer or transport. When the crew has thus been reduced, sometimes to a dangerous extent, the Navy Department, if it has the men to spare, sends out a draft, and the recruits are distributed among the ships most needing them. If the department happens to be short of men, which is generally the case for foreign service, the captain struggles on with his short crew as best he can. Extra work is, of course, required from those on board, and this causes much dissatisfaction and growling. This may properly be called not a system, but a want of one, and compares most unfavourably with that of our German friends.

## CHAPTER XII

### TARGET PRACTICE AT CHEFOO

We celebrated the Fourth of July at Tsingtao, the military and naval authorities joining heartily with us in doing so, and on the morning of the 5th sailed for Chefoo, China, where we arrived the following day. The French fleet was in port, and I found the Japanese residents in a state of excitement because the French flag was flying over one of the islands at the entrance of the harbour. Relations between Russia and Japan were growing more and more strained every day, and the sight of this flag indicated to the Japanese mind that the island was occupied in order to give assistance to Russia in some way. Captain Sah, of the Chinese navy, was in port in a fine cruiser, and he also saw some deep-laid scheme concealed under this flag. He called on me immediately, recited his fears, and asked me what action I was going to take in the matter. I told him that it was none of my business, and that I did not propose to take any action toward having the flag removed, but that I would find out what it all meant. So, when I called on the admiral, he explained that a few years before the body of a French sailor had been buried on the island, and that this was the reason for showing the flag, which was hauled down a few days later and a small one substituted at the head of

the grave. A trifling incident in times of excitement may cause serious trouble.

Chefoo harbour, by reason of its location and facilities, had long been a favourite place for target practice, and many foreign fleets had used it for that purpose. There was no reasonable objection to this so long as the firing was done on the outlying islands, but when the targets were placed in the harbour it was quite another thing. At the time of our visit the French ships were firing from their anchorages, making the passage to and from the shore dangerous, and the Chinese authorities were unable to prevent it. As I was on my way to make an official call, the bullets flew over and about my boat in such numbers that I was compelled to change my course to avoid an accident. This, of course, brought a strong protest to the admiral, which caused the ranges to be changed, but the change was only temporary, for a valuable young officer was actually killed on the bridge of one of our ships in this harbour, a few years later, by a bullet from a French warship at target practice. This unfortunate accident will probably stop such practice in the future.

The necessary authority to occupy one of these islands having been secured through the efforts of our consul, preparation was made for small-arm practice on a scale not before undertaken. Regulation targets were landed and ranges laid out for firing at distances up to one thousand yards, and all connected with the firing points by telephone. Tents were also landed and a camp established, so that men could remain on shore until their practice was completed, thus saving much valuable time. Both officers and men took the great-

est interest in the work, and I think I may fairly say that this was the beginning that led eventually to our sailors beating all other arms of the service—marines, cavalry, infantry, artillery, and militia—with rifles and winning the national trophy, of which they are justly so proud. I had always been very fond of target shooting myself with every kind of firearm, from a revolver to a twelve-inch rifle, and, once in a position of command where I could do so, I determined to create the same interest in the officers and men if I could.

At the close of the Spanish War it was evident that the hitting power of our guns was not what it should be, and I determined that, if the chance ever came my way, I would improve it, at least I would make an honest effort to do so. The opportunity had now come, and I took advantage of it. How I did this I will try to make plain, but before doing so I wish to state that whatever success I achieved was due to the efforts of the able officers on my staff and the hard-working ordnance officers of the fleet rather than to anything I did. Without them I should undoubtedly have met with a miserable failure. Other commanders-in-chief who preceded me no doubt felt, as I did, the importance of such work, but the favourable conditions prevailing in my time were not so common in theirs. They worked hard and no good ranges were then available.

After the close of the Civil War, in 1865, target practice in the navy gradually ran down until it came to be regarded as of little importance. The regulations required that we should have it so many times each year, and that we should follow certain prescribed forms in the firing and afterwards in reporting results.

There was no real interest in the work. The usual custom was to throw overboard a barrel or raft showing a red flag, then steam around it and fire the allowance of ammunition, after which we went on our way, glad the practice was over.

Most captains and all executive officers looked on it as a necessary evil, as it blackened the decks and the paintwork, broke more or less chinaware, and was generally a nuisance. For other officers it was a time of discomfort; and they saw no real good in it. They were using the same old smooth-bore, muzzle-loading guns with which we had fought out the Civil War, and nobody took much interest in finding out how well or how badly they could shoot. A few Parrott cast-iron rifles were afloat, but so many of them had burst during the war, and so many good men had been killed by these accidents, that we had neither confidence in the guns nor affection for them. We were always glad when the last shot had been fired from one of them and nobody had been hurt.

The sights in use at that time were the same open bar sights that we had always used, and in this respect we were no worse than the navies of the rest of the world. While the guns were being fired, an officer, stationed at some convenient point on the ship, observed the fall of each projectile, and reported to the men at the gun whether it was good or bad. Sometimes it was "a good line shot, a little over"; or "a good line shot, a little short"; or "elevation good, a little to the right" or "a little to the left." How much to the right, left, short, or over was a matter of pure guesswork on the part of the observer.

The gun pointers were drilled to aim in the old way —that is to say, the gun was so trained that the sights would come on the target as the ship came to the top of the sea and began to roll toward the target. Firing on the "weather roll" it was called, and it was good practice in those days, because it ensured the shot a chance to hit the target on ricochet if it missed it direct. The gun was never pointed directly at the target except in a dead calm or when the wind was directly from or toward it; at other times it was pointed to the left or right of the target, according to the direction and force of the wind; the allowance to be made was a question for the gun captain to decide for himself. One often heard the division officer say, "Lay your gun about the length of a handspike to the right," or "Leave your sights open to the right."

It was surprising to see how well men could point guns under such crude conditions and to note the number of shots that went neither to the right nor left, but in line with the target, a few of them over and many of them short. Sometimes the target was struck, but generally it escaped. The number of hits was about equal to the number of misses to-day.

As the ordnance people began to give us new guns, the sights were somewhat improved, but it was a long time before we had anything that would to-day be called a moderately accurate sight.

When some of the eleven-inch cast-iron guns had been lined with steel and converted into eight-inch rifles, and a few small breech-loading guns had been supplied, the rules for target practice were changed, more interest was taken in the work, but results were

still unsatisfactory, because the system was wrong. The target used was triangular, and the shots were plotted by the use of what is known as the T-square. Only the shots that actually struck the target could be accurately known, the T-square being too rough an instrument for fine work. Every shot that seemed to pass through what the target would have been had it been square instead of triangular was marked as a hit, and I am quite safe in stating that more than half the shots so marked were really misses, and should have been so marked.

By following this very imperfect system of practice our officers and men were deceived into believing that they could shoot fairly well; and so they could, as compared with men of other navies who used the same kind of practice and shot at the same kind of targets in the same way. In reality all our shooting was very poor and inaccurate. But as new ships were built and commissioned, and more modern guns were supplied, things began to look brighter in this respect.

When, finally, a few battleships became available, the accuracy of the new guns began to be appreciated, but we still held to the triangular target, with all its misleading results. More hits were made, because the guns and powder were better and the trajectory of the shot much flatter, but the shots near the upper part of the target which were supposed to pass through the corners of the square target—if it had been square—were still marked as hits. Even worse than this, however, was the want of interest in officers and men in developing the hitting power of the guns. Target practice was still looked upon with disfavour, because it

soiled the decks and the paintwork and made people uncomfortable.

During the summers of 1896 and 1897 the late Rear-Admiral Francis M. Bunce, then commanding the North Atlantic Squadron, began a system of target practice which proved of immense value to the service. He still retained the triangular target, but he took great pains to find out which shots really struck it. The whole squadron spent days on the target range, instead of hours, and it was made evident that we would continue this practice until the commander-in-chief was satisfied with our performance. For the first time in our service torpedoes were given a fair trial at sea, and our surprise was great when we saw how many unexpected things this much-advertised weapon could do and how seldom we could make it strike the obstacle aimed at. We had in former years used the "spar torpedo," the "bag of powder on the end of a pole" with which Cushing so gallantly destroyed the Confederate ironclad Albemarle.

I recall the surprise of a lot of Italian officers during a former cruise in a Spanish-Mediterranean port when I, as ordnance officer, fired one hundred and twenty pounds of powder from a water breaker, or keg, on the end of our lower boom. Orders were imperative that we must fire these torpedoes at certain stated intervals, and our captain enforced the order. On this occasion an Italian ironclad was moored next to us and very close. When I received the order I guyed the lower boom as far forward as I could, lowered the end of it well under water, and then touched the key of the battery. There was a tremendous explosion, and a

column of water and mud shot up two hundred feet into the air. When the smoke had cleared away, our lower boom was gone and the beautiful ironclad was covered with mud—and very foul mud it was—for more than half of her length. It was like the old-fashioned Chinese throwing of "stink pots." Of course, we apologised promptly, and then spent two days scrubbing the vile stuff from off our rigging.

Admiral Bunce continued his target practice until a large amount of ammunition had been expended and the men became proficient in handling the guns, if not in hitting the target. To his persistence in this work and the general drill of the fleet I, and many other officers, attribute our success in the Spanish-American War.

At Santiago we thought our shooting fairly good, but learned later by the testimony of an expert before the Senate Naval Committee that it was disgracefully bad. Whether it was good, bad, or disgraceful, the fact remains that we destroyed the Spanish squadron in record time, and the impression among those engaged in the battle was that this complete destruction was the result of our good shooting.

It is eminently unfair to compare our firing then with what we could do to-day. That it was as good as or better than any other service could have done at the time seems established by the very favourable reports of many foreign critics.

When the Spanish War had passed into history, many officers of the navy became thoroughly aroused and deeply interested in this most important subject—the hitting power of our guns. Those who came under

my personal observation I shall mention by name. A great many hard workers in the cause of target practice did not serve under my immediate command, and I cannot, therefore, give them the credit due them, as otherwise I should certainly be glad to do.

The use of smokeless powder for the navy became general immediately after the Spanish War; during that conflict we had used it for the smaller guns only, and brown prismatic powder for the larger guns. During the practice which I had ordered as a part of the inspection of the ships of the squadron at Chefoo, full service charges of smokeless powder were to be used with loaded shells, and I believe this was the first time such target practice was held in our navy. The introduction of the new powder had necessitated the resighting of all the guns, and the work had been done by the Ordnance Department as rapidly as possible. The poor work turned out may have been unavoidable, but to those of us who had to deal practically with the sights it seemed as if they had better never have been made—they were either wrong in principle or defective in manufacture.

The Kentucky was fortunate in having Lieutenant Carlos B. Brittain as her gunnery officer. He had given much time and thought to the subject of target practice, and was able and enthusiastic in his efforts to carry out the scheme I had outlined. She was also fortunate in having among her division officers Lieutenant Ridley McLean, one of the ablest gunnery officers of the navy. These two, co-operating cordially with the officers on my staff, soon made it clear to me that I might expect a large measure of success.

The first thing to be done was to install some device by which the men, gun pointers and others as well, would have proper training in pointing a gun, and then to determine where the shot would strike if the gun were fired. This drill, to do any real good, must be had at least twice a day, and to fire the gun so often was out of the question; so a number of small guns called Flobert rifles were bought, with a plentiful supply of ammunition for them. These small rifles were fixed to the turret and broadside guns in such a way that the training of the smaller guns trained the larger ones at the same time and in the same way. Thus, in order to bring the small rifle to bear on the target, the mechanism of the larger gun had to be used for the purpose. I had seen this done years before, and I considered it very effective.

The next step was to provide a suitable target, and this proved difficult. I requested Lieutenants Brittain, Chapin, and McLean to draw a diagram of a battleship which, when placed a few feet from the muzzle of the big gun, would appear like a battleship at a range of two thousand yards. They gave much time to the work, and when it was finished the target seemed very suitable, but we had to fire only a few shots at it to be convinced that it would not answer the purpose. One shot would destroy the entire end of the small battleship, and half a dozen shots completely destroyed the target, so we substituted a miniature great gun target, such as we would use in our regular target practice, and this proved satisfactory. Such a device is now used on all ships of the navy. These targets were then printed on tough brown paper and thousands of them were sent

to each ship. Copies were also sent to the Navy Department.

Having succeeded in the design, it was then necessary to mount the target in front of the gun for service. This was done by using a small spar, one end so secured that the outer end could move freely up and down and, at the same time, sideways. To impart these motions suitable pulleys were connected with the spar. Then on the outer end was placed the target, and behind this a suitable box to catch the bullets after they had passed through the paper. For want of a better name, we called this "the ping-pong machine," and it bears that name in the service to-day, though persistent efforts have been made from time to time to change it to "Morris tube," in imitation of the English device used for the same purpose. A few officers of our navy can see good only in things of English origin.

It will be seen that by using the ping-pong device described above, a motion could be given the target which closely resembled the rolling motion of a ship at sea. Then, if the gun could be constantly trained on this target, we would get the same effect as if the real gun were being fired at a floating target. Orders were given that all guns should use the new device, or rather that all gun pointers should use it every day, and the best target made by each one should be forwarded to me the day following the practice. The old system of pointing on the weather roll was abandoned, and a new one, known as the "constant-aim drill," substituted, by which the sights were to be constantly kept on the target, and the gun fired as often as it could be loaded.

Every ship in the squadron was furnished with a

ping-pong machine, and to keep them going I purchased all the Flobert ammunition in the East, and directed the merchants selling it to send for more. The Kentucky alone fired five thousand rounds a day. Officers and men were most earnest in their efforts and enthusiastic over the work. Improvement was marked and steady, and all hoped for good results. In order that the Department might be advised of what I was doing, I sent to the proper bureau a large number of paper targets which had been fired at.

One of the ships of the squadron, the New Orleans, purchased in England before the breaking out of the Spanish-American War, was armed with English guns and supplied with cordite charges. The commanding officer of this ship, Commander, now Rear-Admiral, C. S. Sperry, was noted as an ordnance expert and an officer of great general ability. In addition to giving his men very thorough drill, he had rigged on his ship a machine known as a " dotter," which was, generally speaking, the same as the machine in the English navy used for the same purpose. In this device a pencil point made a mark on the target, and thus took the place of the bullet fired from the Flobert rifle. This was the only one in the squadron and was fitted before I took command.

Ping-pong machines were afterwards fitted for the New Orleans, as it was found that the gun pointers preferred them to the English machine. They wanted to hear the sound of the gun firing, and see the hole made by the bullet.

On July 9th the New Orleans was inspected, and a part of her inspection consisted in firing her guns one

after another as rapidly as it could safely be done. A regulation size target was carefully whitewashed on the face of a rock, and the ship steamed up and down in front of it at a speed of ten knots, just as is done to-day, and fired until each gun pointer had exhausted his allowance. The accuracy and rapidity of the firing was promising and gave evidence of careful training.

I remember well how the first shot from a six-inch gun knocked the bull's eye out of the target, and that one of the guns made fifteen consecutive hits. The guns and their mounts functioned well, but the four-and-seven-tenths-inch guns showed a tendency to jamb the breech blocks, which made the firing slow. The recoil of these weapons was very violent and often injured the men firing them. One man had his collar bone broken in this way.

The Kentucky went on the range July 19th for her firing, and the results were in some respects startling. The five-inch guns did fairly well, somewhat better than the six-inch of the New Orleans, but the turret guns gave such bad results that I stopped the firing of them. The sights and their connections were so faulty from one cause or another that they jarred out of adjustment with each discharge.

The fact that the gun pointers could shoot accurately and rapidly when supplied with proper sights had been fully established, and this had been done through the efforts of the officers I have named, Chapin, McLean, and Brittain being the leaders. Our success, such as it was, was due to their efforts and the system we had adopted, and was not in any remote degree the result of what had been done in any other navy.

I had never heard of the wonderful firing done by that excellent officer, Captain, now Admiral, Sir Percy Scott, of the British navy, and I doubt if any one of my able assistants ever had. Certainly, if they had, they did not follow his methods, but worked out their own. Yet for all the good work they did, one never hears their names mentioned in connection with naval target practice. Lieutenant William S. Sims, who has since given much assistance and advice as inspector of target practice, was, at the time of which I speak, doing duty as a watch officer on the New York, flagship of the commander-in-chief.

When the practice at Chefoo had been completed, ping-pong practice was again taken up, and much more time given to it than formerly. I quote the following from a letter received from an officer serving at that time under my command:

"The principles of fast and straight shooting had been found and applied. Many hundreds of thousands of ping-pong bullets were expended on the Kentucky, and a large number on the New Orleans. As far as I know, there has never been such an era of ping-pong as was that in your fleet from September, 1902, to February, 1903, when all were preparing for the spring, now called the record, practice."

Much comment and some ill-feeling have since been the result, indirectly, of this practice and one that followed it in a few months. Of the total number of officers in the navy only a small percentage was on duty in China, and they were about the only ones, outside those on duty in Washington, who knew of the good work we had done. When Lieutenant Sims returned



Commodore C. P. Sah, Imperial Chinese Navy.

to the United States in the fall of 1902 he was assigned to duty in the Navy Department as inspector of target practice. The newspapers were much interested in his fight with the Ordnance Department and gave it much notice, commending him for his good work. He was given credit for everything done in the way of target firing, though up to that time he had had nothing in the world to do with it outside of the particular ship on which he had been serving. The accuracy and rapidity of fire, the hitting power, of our guns had been established before he became inspector of target practice, as the records of the Navy Department will show, and he had no hand in it. The work was done by those I have mentioned and others to be mentioned later, and to them belongs the credit which has ignorantly been given to Mr. Sims. That he has done efficient work for the service is true, but he is not the only one; all of them should have the praise they deserve, and I am confident that Mr. Sims would be the last man in the navy to accept the credit for things done by his brother officers. He is not built that way.

During our stay in Chefoo I came to know Captain Sah, of the Chinese navy, very well, and found him an officer of great tact and ability. He is now in command of the Chinese navy. The cruiser he commanded, the Hai Chi, was the cleanest thing in the shape of a warship that I ever saw. From keel to truck she was in the pink of condition. Her decks were as white as snow, her guns in perfect order, and her crew in neat uniform and excellent discipline. When the Oregon ran on to the rocks between Chefoo and the Taku bar, during the Boxer troubles, the Hai Chi went at once

to her assistance, secured alongside of her, and did all in her power to aid her in getting afloat. The Russians had their eyes on the Chinese navy, and hoped, no doubt, to secure several of their ships by capture before the war was over. While the Hai Chi was employed in aiding the Oregon, a Russian cruiser hove in sight and remained at a distance cruising about. Captain Sah, convinced that she meant to capture him, reported the matter to the captain of the Oregon and asked his advice, which was promptly given in the following short and simple words: "Hoist the American flag at your foremast-head, and let us see who will attack you!" This was done, and the Russian ship went on her way.

The ordnance officer of the Hai Chi was very anxious to witness the firing of the thirteen-inch guns of the Kentucky, and, at the request of Captain Sah, I took him out with me one day during our practice. He seemed thoroughly impressed with the accuracy of our shooting, which was fairly good only, because of the condition of our defective gun sights. When the order was given to fire the last shot from the forward thirteen-inch turret, there was, for some reason, a hang-fire. The gun was kept trained on the target, and at the end of two minutes went off. The big shell struck fair in the centre of the bull's-eye and exploded with tremendous force, bringing down tons of stone. When the smoke of the explosion cleared away, all trace of the target had disappeared, and the face of the rock on which it had been painted showed only a good-sized cavern.

"That was a wonderful shot!" commented the

Chinese officer. "It would have completely destroyed a ship!"

I let him form his own conclusions—my mind was fully occupied with poor sights and missfires and how to get rid of them.

## CHAPTER XIII

### SUMMER HEADQUARTERS IN CHINA

One reason for my visit to Chefoo was to look over the place and see if I could use it for a summer headquarters for the fleet. It was necessary to find some suitable place where the fleet could assemble for drills during the summer months and give liberty to the crews. Especially was this necessary for the vessels of the Philippine division, whose crews were much reduced in physique from long service in the tropics. Cholera and the plague prevailed in Manila to such an extent that liberty for the men at that port was rather a doubtful proposition, and above all they needed the bracing effect of this northern air.

Chefoo is the summer resort for north China; the city is filthy and Asiatic cholera can always be found there if you look for it in the right locality, but all Chinese cities are filthy, and all of them have cholera or something else equally bad, and if our men were to have any shore leave in China we had to disregard some of the bad features and see if we could find some good ones. American fruit trees and vines had been cultivated in the vicinity of Chefoo, and furnished in season a good supply of fruit, which was a point greatly in its favour. Vegetables were grown in large quantities and these could be used when properly sterilised

and cooked, and the fish market was uncommonly good. There were so many points in favour of the place that I determined to use it as our summer rendezvous. Its proximity to Port Arthur, only about sixty miles away, was one objection to such use of it, as the Russians might, and afterwards did, think we were giving encouragement to the Japanese by doing so. Our consul, Mr. Fowler, one of the best American representatives I have ever seen abroad, secured the use of a proper field for athletics and the exclusive use of two islands for target practice. Before leaving Chefoo, I let it be understood that I would return the following year, so that the farmers and gardeners might be ready to supply our wants.

There was one other consideration which influenced me in my decision to use this place for our summer work. Chefoo was one of the three Chinese ports of greatest importance to American merchants. Here they were fully protected by treaty rights, and their trade was flourishing and lucrative and would be more so because of the presence of so many of our ships and men.

Great interest was shown by the officers of the French fleet at Chefoo over the Kentucky, she being our latest battleship at the time, having as she did some peculiar features of construction not known in any other service. The most important of these were the double turrets, in which two thirteen-inch guns were installed in the lower turret, and two eight-inch in the turret above, which was immovably fixed to the one beneath it. This plan of mounting guns, devised by the late Admiral Sampson, had caused heated discussion by professional men all over the world. It had practically

divided professional opinion into two distinct schools, one, the larger, being strongly opposed to it, and the other, though smaller, equally strong in its favour. In later years many of those opposed have changed their views, but, unless all the guns in both upper and lower turrets are the same size, the system must be abandoned, for the *all one calibre* battery ship is the one we must have.

Admiral Maréchal, commander-in-chief of the French fleet, wrote me a note stating the desire of his officers to visit my flagship, and asking if permission might possibly be given. I sent, in reply, an invitation to *all* the officers of the French fleet to visit the Kentucky on a certain day, and when they came we showed them everything about the ship. There was nothing we cared to conceal, for the *Scientific American* and other journals had published full details of her with scale drawings. In return for this courtesy, we were invited, later, to inspect a new French cruiser just out from home, and were shown over her by her officers. Among other things we were allowed to see the gun sights, which were far better than anything we then had. I afterwards knew this gallant officer of the old school, Admiral Maréchal, valued his friendship, and admired him for his courtesy and dignity. He was a master of his profession and an honour to his calling.

On July 4th, while at anchor at Chefoo, I was notified by our consul that Asiatic cholera had broken out among the scholars of the China Inland Mission School, and asked that I should send medical aid at once. This institution, the best in north China, was for boys alone, about sixty of whom were in attendance. It was

so far removed from the Chinese city that infection therefrom seemed almost impossible. Able surgeons, with hospital attendants, were hurried off at once, and ice made on board ship supplied as required. The senior surgeon soon returned with a report that it was not cholera but ptomaine poisoning that was the trouble, and that it had resulted from the eating of chicken pie. I ordered a careful microscopic examination, which disclosed the fact that there was not a microscope in the fleet, and we had to borrow one from a native doctor on shore before the investigation could be made. It was not a long while before every ship on the station had a microscopic outfit, and the Navy Department had a fine bill to settle!

When Past Assistant Surgeon Guest, U. S. N., a microscopist of great ability, assisted by Dr. Wu, a native, had made a thorough investigation, the disease was again diagnosed as ptomaine poisoning, but this was not satisfactory to the school authorities, because of the reflection upon their method of preparing and inspecting the food for the boys, nineteen of whom had been taken ill, thirteen of whom had died. The reputation of the school was high, and the scholars, among whom were several Americans, were, as a rule, the sons of merchants and wealthy men. To have it known that these lads had died from improper food would be a death blow to the institution, and to "save their faces," as the Chinese express it, the stomach of one of the dead was sent to Shanghai for examination. Cholera was raging in Shanghai and the jar containing the stomach, after being opened and remaining so for several days, was turned over to some one, whose name I

never learned, and the microscopic examination made. Cholera germs were found, and the case diagnosed as Asiatic cholera and so reported to the British consul at Chefoo, who published it broadcast, but never mentioned the report made by the doctors in attendance. From the treatment the stomach had received, it is fair to assume that the microscope would have shown not only cholera germs but any other kind of germs as well! However, the reputation of the school was saved, the bodies of the poor boys buried, and that was the end of it. Because of the presence of the American lads, I made a full report of the facts after doing all in my power to assist those who had been stricken.

After the inspection and target practice of the Kentucky and New Orleans, which had in some respects proved startling, and before leaving Chefoo, I issued instructions concerning daily target practice for vessels of the squadron. They were prepared by Lieutenants Chapin, Brittain, and McLean, and contain my views at that time on this important subject. I give them in full because much comment and discussion have been indulged in, both in the navy and elsewhere, as to when and how our present system of target practice originated and who is responsible and should have the credit for it. The "dotters" referred to were never furnished, as it was found that the subcalibre attachment, ping-pong, answered every purpose. The loading machine, so far as I know, was the first ever used in any service, and is still in use, much improved in design, on all our ships.

# Instructions for Target Practice

CHEFOO, CHINA,
July 18, 1902.

## GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. The senior squadron commander notes that comparisons made between the accuracy and rapidity of fire of our ships and certain foreign ships on this station are apparently much to our discredit, and there appears to be a growing opinion amongst the officers of the squadron which must in time extend to the crews, that our shooting is not only inferior, but that our guns and their appliances are also inferior. If this opinion be allowed to grow, fostered by a lack of constant training and practice at the guns, it will operate to our own very serious detriment. The senior squadron commander has personally witnessed the extended target practice of each of two ships of the squadron, and while the results are gratifying as dispelling the views of the extreme pessimists, they are capable of much improvement both in rapidity and accuracy. It has shown that poor shooting and any lack of confidence in the guns and appliances must be due to want of training and practice.

1*a*. It shall be the highest duty of all commanding and other line officers to endeavour through their personal supervision and interest to increase the firing efficiency to the highest standard through the regular and constant training and practice herein required. Where officers show interest in any work, the attention and interest of the men are certain to follow at once.

2. For the daily instruction and practice of all gun pointers of the northern squadron, except those of the Monocacy, each ship of the squadron, except the New Orleans, Monterey, and Monocacy, will be supplied with one dotter (the New Orleans has a dotter; the Monterey has no guns of a calibre with which it can be used properly); and each ship will supply herself with, and

install, two subcalibre target attachments on guns as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| KENTUCKY. | One for one 15″ gun and one 8″ gun. |
| | One for one 5″ gun. |
| | One for one 6 pdr. |
| NEW ORLEANS. | One for one 6″ gun. |
| | One for one 6 pdr. |
| WILMINGTON. | One for one 4″ gun. |
| | One for one 6 pdr. |
| HELENA. | One for one 4″ gun. |
| | One for one 6 pdr. |
| VICKSBURG. | One for one 4″ gun. |
| | One for one 6 pdr. |
| MONTEREY. | One for one 12″ gun or one 10″ gun. |
| MONADNOCK. | One for one 10″ gun. |
| | One for one 4″ gun. |
| | One for one 6 pdr. |

3. The dotters will be furnished by the flagship, the Kentucky, and sent to ships as soon as possible. When received they shall at once be installed in connection with one of the broadside types of rapid, or quick-fire guns, of four, five, or six inch calibre. Forecastle or poop guns of these calibres are the most convenient. Where ships have no guns of these calibres mounted in a manner that will allow convenient and proper use of the dotter at sea or in port, then a gun and its mount shall be moved to some position where it can be so used.

A supply of dotter paper will be sent from the Kentucky with each dotter, and furnished thereafter upon application as required. Daily practice shall commence with the dotter as soon as it is installed.

4. Upon receipt of this order each ship will begin the preparation of subcalibre target attachments as directed above, and in not less than one month from date of receipt of this order, shall complete and install them.

Outline sketches of proposed target attachments for broadside and turret guns are forwarded herewith, accompanied by a description of their rig and operation. Ships shall construct similar target attachments, the details and rigging to correspond to the various conditions existing on the different ships. Upon completion of the target arrangements, daily practice shall be commenced with them.

5. The dotter is intended to train the eye and hand to work together to keep the sight constantly on the target in elevation while the ship is rolling, and unless it is used to accomplish this as far as possible, its chief value is lost. It should be possible to keep constantly on with rapid or quick-fire guns. Even when the mount is of such a type that it is impracticable to follow the target through the entire roll, but only for that period of time which elapses between the decision to fire and the discharge of the gun (firing interval), the continuous aim system is preserved. The trajectory is not affected by the roll of the ship, and greatly increased accuracy results, the chiefest advantage of the continuous aim system of shooting. When the sights are kept "on" all the time, the result is not only increased accuracy, but greatly increased rapidity of fire, its second advantage. A great amount of practice with the dotter is necessary to acquire proficiency in this system of shooting, and then practice is required to maintain and increase proficiency.

It is preferable, therefore, to begin training with the dotter before beginning practice with the subcalibre target attachment, but since it is certain that the former cannot be furnished until after the latter shall have been installed, practice with the latter must be begun first.

6. With the subcalibre attachment, the actual handling of the gun in the exercise of the functions of training, elevating, and firing are carried on. It furnishes the best known available means for daily shooting

practice on board ship with the guns, at sea and in port.

7. When the dotter shall have been installed, it is directed that every gun pointer on each ship shall have practice each day with it, except Saturdays, Sundays, national holidays, target-practice days held in pursuance of regulations or by general orders, or when the gun pointer is on the sick list. A division officer shall be present at and superintend the practice of the men. When ships have an ordnance officer, he shall be present frequently at the practice to verify adjustments and see that the practice is carried on in a uniform manner. When there is no ordnance officer, this duty shall be performed by the navigator.

The first practice shall be made with the sheet moving very slowly up and down through a very small angle, and, as the men improve in practice, the movement shall be gradually increased to simulate, if possible, the roll and period of the ship. At the end of each week the last dotter sheet filled by each gun pointer shall be forwarded by mail to the senior squadron commander, together with the target sheet referred to later.

When ships are at sea, and the weather will permit, gun pointers shall be practised with their own guns at keeping them pointed at the horizon, following it throughout the roll if possible.

8. On the same day specified in paragraph 7, all the gun pointers of each ship shall also have practice with the subcalibre target attachments on guns of the types of which they are pointers. Each turret gun pointer shall fire for twenty minutes each day at four targets, five at each target. The pointers of other guns shall each fire four minutes a day at four targets, one minute at each. The first practice shall be at targets moving very slowly in the vertical plane, the motion in this plane to be gradually increased as the men improve, following, or striving to follow, the target, as in the case of the practice with the dotter. As improvement

becomes marked, the training element will be introduced, and the practice thereafter continued, aiming the gun as if actually in use.

At the end of each week the last target made by each gun pointer shall be forwarded to the senior squadron commander. Paper target sheets will be made on board ship or printed on shore, and shall conform to samples forwarded herewith.

Ships will make requisition for subcalibre (Gallery rifle) ammunition in ample time to start the practice, and to continue it without interruption.

9. As the time of loading plays such an important part in the rapidity of fire, it is directed that guns' crews be practised with especial care to insure the supply and loading of an amount of ammunition sufficient to meet the greatest rapidity of fire possible with their guns. This applies to all types of guns. For broadside rapid or quick-fire guns, the physical endurance of the men will play an important part, as well as their expertness in opening ammunition boxes and presenting the naked ammunition at the breech of the gun.

The handling of boxed dummy cartridges, loaded to weight, would afford good physical training, the dummies to be unboxed and presented for loading as in actual service.

Each ship with rapid or quick-fire guns of 4″ calibre and upward will construct a loading device similar, or somewhat similar, to that described in the accompanying papers, set it up, and practice guns' crews of such guns for a reasonable time on the days specified in paragraph 7, at handling and loading as rapidly as possible.

10. It must be understood that nothing short of sickness shall be allowed to interfere with the daily practice of guns' crews as specified. It shall be carried out whether in port or at sea, unless the sea conditions make it quite impossible.

Commanding officers shall encourage good results

obtained by rewarding gun pointers in every reasonable way. They shall be excused from all duties which will interfere with the daily practice herein required, at least during the time necessary for such practice and, as far as possible, from answering calls.

11. Besides the required practice of the gun pointers, the other members of the seaman branch shall be trained with the dotter and subcalibre target attachments. Men who develop greater aptitude and skill at the guns than the acting pointers should take the places of the least skilful of the latter. Gun pointers should be selected solely for their merit in marksmanship, conduct and other qualities not to be considered in this selection; nor should rating be allowed to interfere except when the selection is manifestly impracticable.

Gun pointers should not be shifted from one duty to another or one gun to another when it can be reasonably avoided.

12. In order that the gun pointer may devote his entire attention to keeping the gun sights on the target all the time, he shall not be required to act as gun captain and direct the service of the gun. In turrets, the latter shall be stationed in the turret by the turret officer when his services will be of most value, and in the case of rapid or quick-fire guns, the plugman shall act as gun captain, directing the service. The man chosen for second pointer of guns shall be the trainer, when the type of mounts permits of or requires the service of such a man, and he shall train as directed by the first pointer.

13. The governing principle in comparing results attained at target practice shall be for all guns of the same calibre, the greatest number of hits per gun per minute. This, of course, demands accuracy but rapidity of fire as well.

14. Regarding the rate and accuracy of fire which should be attained in actual practice, average results already obtained with guns of corresponding calibre

fired at a target 20′ long by 15′ high indicate that we should arrive at or exceed the following degrees ot efficiency with the guns of this squadron fired at a similar target, viz.:

| Gun | Speed of ship | Interval between shots | Per cent of hits | Hits per gun per minute |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10, 12, or 13″ .. | 8 knots | 1 minute | 50 | 0.50 |
| 8″ ..... | 8 " | 45 seconds | 50 | 0.75 |
| 6″ R or Q + G . | 12 " | 8¼ " | 75 | 5.25 |
| 5″ " " " " " . | 12 " | 8½ " | 80 | 6.00 |
| 4″ " " " " " . | 12 " | 7 " | 80 | 6.85 |
| 6 pdr..... | 12 " | 6 " | 80 | 8.00 |

15. To secure the best results from the training and practice required herein, and to compare the records made by the gun pointers and ships of the squadron, it is directed that after the receipt of this order no sea practice will be held by any ship of the squadron for three months, and then each ship will hold a record practice, firing at a target 20′ long by 15′ high, actual hits only to be counted. The target shall be placed at the apex of a right isosceles triangle, the legs of which shall be two thousand yards long as nearly as possible, the ship to steam along the hypothenuse of the triangle for the present at a speed of eight knots. It is the intention to increase the speed to twelve knots later when the pointers become proficient.

Each first and second gun pointer of a gun of 8″ calibre and up will be allowed to fire separately at the target for six minutes as rapidly as possible; each first and second pointer of a main battery gun of 4″ calibre and upwards, and each pointer of a 1.3 or 6-pdr R. I. gun, shall be allowed to fire separately for one minute at the target as rapidly as possible. The target shall be examined after the string of shots made by each gun pointer, and the actual hits counted. For better means of comparison, this practice shall take place only under

the best sea conditions, viz.: good, clear weather and smooth sea.

This order was followed immediately by others—in fact, they were sent at the same time, describing fully the dotter, the subcalibre or ping-pong rifle—usually a Flobert rifle, the target and its attachments, the loading machine, and how to construct and use them all. Reference to the date will show that Lieutenant Sims was at the time a watch officer on the New York, flagship of the commander-in-chief, and could not have had any hand in the work. He did not, in fact, know that such orders had been issued, nor did the Navy Department or any body in it have such knowledge until a copy of the order was received. The officers named by me are the ones responsible for it, and to them should be given the credit.

The same rules have been observed, and the same system has been followed ever since in our target practice, except that the target has been reduced in size, and the speed of the ship increased as the gun pointers have become more expert and proficient.

## CHAPTER XIV

### AN INSPECTION TOUR

After the firing at Chefoo I found the work piling up on my hands so rapidly that the days were not long enough to do it satisfactorily. It was absolutely necessary that I should visit all parts of the station and see conditions for myself. In the meantime, all the ships must be inspected, and this of itself was quite a job. We had maintained ships at two ports permanently, a gunboat at Newchwang and one at Taku. During the summer the ships rode at their own anchor, and in winter were placed in what were called mud docks. These docks were made by digging a hole in the bank of the river large enough to hold them, and when the ship had been hauled into this so-called dock, she was securely moored with anchors and chains, and when ice formed, she remained frozen in during the winter. Booms of logs were placed across the entrance of the docks to prevent floating ice from crowding in and doing damage. Under such conditions the guns, except the small ones in the tops, were of no value for defence as they were below the banks of the dock, and could not, in case of need, be fired. The ships were simply places of refuge in case of trouble, where our missionaries and other citizens could be protected if it became necessary to do so.

Of all the Chinese ports, Newchwang was the most important to our mercantile interests, which seemed to me to be protected in every possible way by treaty rights. Very large quantities of American cotton piece goods were sent here and found a ready market in Manchuria, at least such had been the case in former years until the Russians, ignoring treaty rights, virtually took possession of the place with their military forces. One of our ships was there, however, to keep the government at home advised of what was being done and to give such protection as she could to our people. The effect of her presence was really good. The simple fact that the American flag was flying there prevented many outrages that would, no doubt, otherwise have been perpetrated.

The situation at Taku was entirely different. There were really no American interests at that point, and a ship had been kept there for two reasons: as a refuge for the missionaries who were spread over this part of China, not only our own but those of other countries; and as a base from which to send assistance to our minister in Pekin, if that should seem necessary. It was also thought that the minister would have sufficient notice of coming trouble to withdraw with his family and the members of the legation, and seek refuge on the ship at Taku. The Boxer trouble showed how false this assumption was. Taku being only a short distance from Chefoo, I determined to run over there, inspect the ship, examine a number of officers who were entitled to promotion, and acquaint myself generally with conditions on that part of the station.

Accordingly, on July 23d I got under way with the

Kentucky and Helena, and the next morning anchored off the Taku bar. The U. S. S. Monocacy, an iron side-wheel gunboat, built during the Civil War, had served in China for thirty or thirty-five years and was then anchored at Taku. She had been stationed at various ports, Shanghai, Canton, Amoy, etc., and for years in her present berth. Though a nautical curiosity, from the first she had done excellent service because of her light draught and the very heavy battery she carried. The guns, smooth-bore, eight-inch, were just the weapons to use, at short range, on such a mob as one might have to contend with in China. She was the only ship of our fleet that could cross the bar and steam up to the city, or town, of Taku, and she had the peculiar distinction of being one of the few American ships that had been fired on by an enemy without returning the fire. When the allied fleets attacked the forts at the mouth of the Peiho, she was fired on at her anchorage by a Chinese battery, and at least one shell passed through her rotten sides. The commanding officer did not return the fire, and we must assume that he was right because the commander-in-chief, and afterwards the government in Washington, approved his conduct. Such approval always makes the action of a naval officer right, but in this case it did not add to our prestige either among foreigners or natives.

Instructions had been sent to the captain of the Monocacy to come outside for his inspection, and immediately on my arrival he appeared. I had some doubts about ordering the ship to come out into deep water for fear she might sink, and when I saw her condition I wondered somewhat that she had not done so! She

was a comfortable old home, or boarding-house, for officers and men, but no longer of any military value. Her iron plates had rusted away slowly for years until it seemed that her frames were all that held her in shape. At one spot under her boilers I dug through the paint and found salt water coming in! The plate was gone in places so that I could stick a knife through it. She was a fine exemplification of the old navy adage, "Paint and putty cover a multitude of sins."

When the inspection had been completed, I hurried her back into the river, and was much relieved when I saw her at her old anchorage. Then I wrote home recommending that the officers and men be transferred to other ships, where they were badly needed, and the vessel sold. This was approved, and I afterwards sold her for eight thousand dollars, gold, which was about seven thousand five hundred more than she was worth! She was not replaced by any other ship, as the whole country from Taku to Pekin was dotted with the camps of foreign troops, and danger to our interests was not to be feared.

It had been my intention to visit Pekin at this time, but I found it impracticable to do so because of pressing work in other directions.

With the Kentucky and New Orleans I ran back to Chefoo, to complete the inspection of the gunboats that had been ordered to assemble there. On board of them all I found officers and men anxious to get to work with the guns, but the sights and the mounts were so bad that all hands were discouraged and disheartened with their efforts. Of course, this condition could not be allowed to continue, it must be changed at once. I

knew that among those under my command there must be some one with the necessary ability to do the work, but the trouble was to discover him. Lieutenant Ridley McLean went to work on a sight for one of the guns of his division. When it was completed and installed, with a suitable telescope, he made a wonderful record of hits. This brought the question of telescope sights to the front. After hearing what was to be said in favour of low-power telescopes, advocated by many officers, I decided in favour of the high-power ones, not only because of my own belief in their greater efficiency, but also because the opinion of officers in whose judgments I had implicit confidence agreed with me. A telegram was sent to the best makers in Paris, and in due time the instruments arrived. There are still a few officers who are opposed to the use of the high-power glasses, but I think they are changing as they get more experience. These sights, which were used for years, have been much improved through the efforts of Lieutenant Mustin, U. S. N., who has developed a genius for such work. He promises to put us ahead of all the other navies of the world in this important respect, and from what I have seen of his work I feel sure that he will live up to the promise.

When the turret guns of the Kentucky were first fired, the sights behaved so badly that I ordered the firing to stop, as no good results could follow practice under such conditions. The sights had been made as secure as possible, but the principle under which they were constructed was wrong, and no amount of patching could do them any good.

Something entirely new had to be devised, and,

fortunately for me and the service, I found the man who could do the necessary work. Assistant Paymaster William A. Merritt was the man. Mr. Merritt was an educated mechanical engineer, and had worked in the draughting room of the Newport News Shipbuilding Company on the plans for the Kearsarge and Kentucky. When the Spanish-American War broke out he felt it his duty to go to the front, and he succeeded in securing an appointment in the pay corps of the navy. Seeing the trouble with the turret-gun sights, he volunteered to work on something to take their place, and, after weeks of most exacting labour, produced the drawings of a design for sights which, after criticism from many line officers of experience, were adopted, and the device was ordered to be fitted to all turret guns. This was done, and when the sights were tested on board the Kentucky excellent results were obtained.

While at anchor in Chefoo harbour I received a pressing invitation from our minister in Korea to visit Chemulpo with the squadron and have an audience with the Emperor at Seoul. There were several American claims against the government of Korea which had been discussed for a long time. They had now arrived at a point diplomatically when the presence of a force of warships might ensure their payment! This course is often followed in the East, and even in other parts of the world, and is one good reason for keeping a naval force in certain foreign waters. The diplomatic representative convinces the foreign government of the justice of the claim, and then by a friendly display of ships and men makes it appear better to pay and be done with it. In this case it was very necessary that

I should comply with the minister's request. I accepted his invitation and named a time for the visit, but another was pressing before I could fulfil the engagement.

Admiral Alexieff, of the Russian navy, had sent me word at Chefoo that he would be glad to have me visit Port Arthur and the new city of Dalny with my flagship. It was most important, for many reasons, that I should make this visit. We all wanted a look at Port Arthur and its fortifications. The new town of Dalny was of great interest because of its peculiar status and the opportunity it was said to offer for American trade. On July 25th I anchored off the entrance to the harbour of Port Arthur with the Kentucky and New Orleans in a dense fog. It was too thick to venture in, even had it been considered desirable to do so. I waited some time for the usual boarding visit of courtesy, but no officer came to welcome me. I was on the point of sending one of my staff in to ask an explanation of this, when a man-of-war boat appeared, flying the Russian flag. When she had approached within fifty yards of us an officer stood up in her stern, asked who we were, where we came from, and then returned to the harbour!

Our invitation to enter the harbour was not so pressing as to require our presence on that particular day, so I postponed my visit until I could learn the meaning of this unusual boat call. The weather had cleared somewhat, giving us a faint view of the enormous forts about the entrance to the harbour and on the high land in the background. We got under way at once and proceeded on our way to Dalny. Passing

close along the rugged, rocky shore, we could form some idea of the number of Russian troops centred about Port Arthur. Their white tents seemed to cover the country in every direction, and a great number were quartered in huts on the hillsides. We estimated that there were over forty thousand men in the various camps we saw. Some of the regiments were drilling, and made a striking picture in their peculiar dress—white coats and black trousers.

After we had anchored, official calls were promptly made—most promptly, I may say, for there was a feeling in the air that each side was looking to the conduct of the other. No salutes were fired on entering the port, as there was no battery to return them. Two Russian gunboats were the only war vessels in port.

The military governor was absent, but the civil governor received me most cordially, extended to me every possible courtesy, and showed me everything there was to be seen. He was a brilliant young engineer who had laid out and partly constructed this wonderful city. Thousands upon thousands of dollars had been spent, and the end of expenditure was not yet in sight. Great stone docks, capable of accommodating an enormous amount of shipping, had been designed and partly constructed, many of them, indeed, finished, ready for the Japanese, who came to occupy them two years later. The city itself was beautifully laid out—one section for Chinese, one for Europeans, one for business purposes, and one for residences, all under the most modern sanitary regulations.

After lunching with the governor and his charming

wife, we drove over the entire city and its suburbs. With the aid of maps, I was shown what it was intended to do, what had been done, and what remained to do to complete the scheme of this great, ice-free Russian port in the East. A more visionary scheme I have never heard of. The place was to have no fortifications, because the merchants and tradesmen of all nations were to settle there, and for that reason alone no one would dare attack it. When I had seen all the city part, the governor pointed out a great space on the shores of the beautiful bay where factories of all sorts, under all flags, were to be erected. Because of cheap labour and the entry of raw material free, the factories were to turn out great quantities of excellent, cheap products. I asked the governor what was to become of all this output. He replied that all Manchuria was waiting to purchase the things as soon as they could be made; that the market could never be oversupplied. When I suggested that capital—American capital, at least—would hesitate before entering fully on this scheme, because there was only one railroad—a Russian government road—connecting the factories with the country to be supplied, that differential rates would eat up all profits for those who were not the favoured ones, his face was a study. I also intimated that merchants would surely demand something more in the way of protection than had so far been projected. I concluded by saying that in the war which seemed imminent between Japan and Russia, the Japanese would quickly occupy Dalny as a base from which to operate against Port Arthur. After a few moments of thoughtful silence, the governor said to me:

"I am surprised, Admiral, that you anticipate war for my country. The Japanese will never dare attack Russia. We are too strong for them."

I did not feel called upon to reply to this, although he evidently wanted me to. I preferred to let him wait and see for himself how much afraid the Japanese were. My short experience with them had fully convinced me on that point.

The granting of Dalny to Russia by China was in connection with the concession for the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Manchuria. This road was to connect Russia, by way of Siberia and Manchuria, with Vladivostock, having Dalny as its terminus in Manchuria. Branch roads were to connect with Harbin and other points. That the Russian government intended to use this road when completed as a means of rapidly transporting troops and supplies, in case of necessity, was plain to all, particularly to Japan. That the Japanese government tried in every way to neutralise the effect produced by it is well known; she was unsuccessful, and trouble came because of it. More serious trouble will, I think, come from the same cause in the future.

## CHAPTER XV

### IN NORTHERN ASIA

AMUSED and interested with our Dalny visit, we ran back to Chefoo to meet a store-ship from home, make necessary transfer of men, and receive supplies. Having done this, I sailed with the New Orleans, the Vicksburg, and the Helena in company for Chemulpo, Korea, arriving there on August 6th.

Our minister having made the necessary arrangements for an audience with his Majesty, the Emperor of Korea, I left the fleet on the morning of the 7th of August, accompanied by my personal staff and the captains of the Vicksburg and Helena, and proceeded to Seoul. The railroad over which we travelled—the cars and everything in connection with them—seemed in keeping with the wretched country through which we were riding. Dirt, poverty, and misery were in evidence everywhere. There was little in the way of cultivation beyond patches of rice or melons. The natives lived almost exclusively on the former, and thousands of them die every year of cholera from eating the latter. The melons are really of fine quality, very wholesome when properly eaten. The natives of the very poor classes eat them *rind and all.* The rind contains the cholera germ, and in this way the disease starts and spreads. The houses were very like the people—poor

and ill-looking. When a fine-looking house was seen we were told that it belonged to some Japanese gentleman, who kept it filled with rice or other kind of provisions. The meaning of this could be seen later on when war broke out between Japan and Russia. The land seemed fertile enough; the people would not cultivate it, because everything they made beyond a bare living was promptly appropriated by the Emperor or his agents.

The view of the capital city as we approached it by rail was picturesque. The great wall surrounding it had withstood the hundreds of years that had passed since it was built, as well as the assaults of many armies. It was ugly, as ugly as all mud walls are, but picturesque. There was nothing green in sight from the outside—only brown fields and mud-coloured walls. Inside the ancient gates, through which we passed as the guards presented arms and scowled at us, the view was not much better. The trees and scant shrubbery afforded some relief to the eyes, but everything else was brown. Dirty, filthy, dilapidated houses and dirty streets filled with dirty people extended in every direction. Even the soldiers were dirty and slouchy. The only modern or decent thing I saw was a small street railroad running through the main streets of the wretched city. This had been built by an American company, and was doing a thriving business. Inside the compounds, or grounds, of the foreign ministers everything was different; shrubs and exquisite flowers filled the well-kept grounds; instead of the squalor of the natives, one found here comfort, luxury, and refinement, which only made the contrast more striking.

# The Emperor of Korea

The Emperor of Korea was progressive in one respect at least. Finding himself only a king, while his ruling neighbour on the one side was an emperor and on the other an empress, he proceeded to declare that he also would be an emperor. To install himself properly in his new position, he appropriated from the treasury about four millions of dollars, ordered a new palace built, and grand ceremonies and festivities to mark his change of title. All foreign representatives in the East were invited to be present; some of them went, some stayed away. Every detail was properly carried out by the use of quite a large body of troops, so that on the occasion of my visit I found an emperor instead of a king. He was surrounded by all the pomp and etiquette of other courts; he even had some things not known to other emperors I had had the honour of being presented to!

The city residence of our minister was a charming, refined house full of exquisite old things; and there, after changing our dress, we waited for the summons to appear before his Majesty. The hour for our audience had been set for noon, but when that time came the Emperor was still sleeping, and, of course, we had to wait until he was awake. I warned all the officers who were to be presented with me to be most careful not to attempt to shake hands, or make any movement to do so, until his Majesty offered his hand.

Finally, at one P.M., we proceeded to the new palace and were ushered into the royal presence, after passing long lines of soldiers and thousands of scowling faces. The Emperor received us graciously for a man who, apparently, had just recovered from a hard night,

shook hands with me, assured me of his friendly regard for my country, which was reciprocated. Then I backed out. The other officers were then presented, the four captains first. After them came an officer of my staff, tall, fine-looking, worth any thousand Koreans in the country. I suppose the fact that the four captains who preceded him had all been favoured with a handshake induced this officer to extend his hand. In return he received a cold stare from his Majesty, who stood calmly with his hand by his side. For two seconds the officer stood perfectly still with his hand extended, the flush on his face fading quickly until he was perfectly white; then his hand came to his side, his eyes flashed, and with a profound bow he backed out. The other officers did not forget what I had tried to impress on them in the matter of shaking hands with royalty. The innocent offender against royal etiquette was seriously wounded in his feelings, but it was worth the punishment he had received to hear the language he afterwards used about this copper-coloured monarch.

On the throne with the Emperor sat his son, the Crown Prince and heir-apparent to the throne, a half-witted young man who grinned and giggled incessantly. Emperor and Crown Prince had all the marks of hard drinking and high living for which they were celebrated. Neither of them seemed to me capable of conducting any ordinary business requiring common sense, much less conducting a country in the perilous position of Korea. Why our government should support and aid such rulers is a question the State Department may be able to answer, but certainly I am not.

After our audience we were invited to a luncheon

for which the Emperor had drawn ten thousand dollars from the treasury. It cost, at most, five to six hundred dollars; the rest, I was told, found its way to the bank account of his Majesty. It was an ordinary meal, European dishes cooked and served in European fashion. French wines were served and consumed in very large quantities. A number of Korean officials sat with us—ministers, secretaries, and army officers—all of whom astonished us by the amount they could eat and drink. During the meal a fine military band of thirty-eight pieces furnished excellent music, a bit mechanical but distinctly good. The bandmaster, a Japanese from the academy of music in Tokio, told me later that all the musicians had been trained in the period of one year; previous to that time none of them could play a musical instrument. This was about the only thing I heard of them that led me to think there was any good in the Koreans.

Luncheon completed, we were conducted to a broad piazza to witness the performances of the Emperor's dancing girls, more properly dancing women—they all looked forty years old or more. He had eighty of these women, each of whom received, I was told, about ten dollars a week and a new silk dress. The dancing continued an hour or more, and was curious and interesting, at first, mainly because we did not understand what the dancers were trying to illustrate. When the game they were playing was explained all interest vanished; it would have been amusing to children, not to grown men. There was none of the grace and excitement of the Japanese "chon-nuke," or the suggestive movements of the fair creatures seen in the Jardin

Mabille. A sense of relief came to us all when we were permitted to withdraw to the comfort of our consul's house, where we enjoyed a few hours' rest, and then returned to our ships feeling that our mission was successful, that the disputed claims would be paid.

The following day the usual presents—fans, pieces of silk or satin, native silver work, etc.—were sent by the Emperor, one piece to each officer who had been presented. A proper letter of acknowledgment was sent to his Majesty through our minister, and the fleet left Korean waters, passing close by Round Island, where, a few months later, the first act in the great war drama between Russia and Japan was played.

In view of the position assumed later by the Russian authorities in Manchuria that they owned all the timber and mining rights in Korea, it may be well to state here that at that time—the summer of 1902—an American company had been granted a large timber concession covering the exclusive right to cut lumber over a large area. A company of our countrymen also were successfully working gold mines in the mountains of Korea under concessions granted by the Emperor while still only a king. The concessions, however, were of minor importance when compared with those covering the right to build railroads, which were of vital importance to two great nations. Russian officers of high rank spent sleepless nights thinking of the time when they should occupy, fortify, and hold the ports of Fusan and Massampho, the latter facing the coast of Japan across the straits of Korea. Russian diplomacy at Seoul for once failed, and the right to connect these ports with Chemulpo and Seoul was granted to Jap-

anese citizens. When the time came to act, the Japanese government, watching this question, without for a moment losing sight of its great importance, stepped in, took over the concession, and completed the road without delay. Thus, the Yalu River continued to be the line of defence for Japan against Russian advance, instead of the straits of Korea, which would have been the case had Russia succeeded in her schemes.

Another transport was waiting at Nagasaki to be discharged. Having orders to expedite her return to San Francisco, I ran over to Nagasaki, notwithstanding the fact that cholera was raging there. Orders must be obeyed regardless of sanitary conditions. The cholera really was threatening at Nagasaki in spite of the efforts of the government to get it under control. I remained outside with the ships, giving all my time to fleet work, only one ship at a time being sent in to communicate with the transport. In this way and by not having any communication with the shore, we were fortunate enough to escape without a single case of the dreaded disease.

It was necessary to find some place free from cholera where the men could be granted liberty on shore. The north seemed the most likely direction and Vladivostock the most desirable place for many reasons. The Russian authorities had announced that they would allow only two vessels of war of each nation in that port at one time; formerly any number could be there. Ordering the New Orleans to join me later, and the Helena and Vicksburg to the Inland Sea ports, I sailed with the Kentucky. Up through the straits of Korea, over the very spot where Admiral Togo a few months

later put the Russian fleet out of business, we ran with just the same kind of weather—fog, with thick mist and an ugly, breaking sea. For two days we had this; then we entered the port of Vladivostock and anchored. It was not a difficult place to enter, even in a fog. The Russians thought it impossible until one morning when they found six British frigates anchored within easy gunshot of the town. A notice was then sent abroad that only two ships might come in at a time. The guns of the forts could keep ships out in clear weather—at least, it was supposed they could—but guns were of no use in a fog.

Our reception by the port authorities, both civil and military, was most cordial. A large Russian fleet was in port, many salutes were fired, and all necessary official calls were made. A few hours after we anchored I noticed that three buoys were being placed for French ships; they had small French flags on them. The rule of two ships only was not to be enforced by the authorities against their allies, which was no business of mine. I did not wish to bring in more than two ships, and I took no notice of it. Later in the day a train load of soldiers came in from Harbin while I was on shore having a look at the town. When one of the box cars was opened the dead bodies of a number of soldiers who had died of cholera were taken out. This, with the look I had had to the wide-open character of the town, convinced me that I should have to find some other place in which to give liberty to the men. It was advisable, however, that we should remain a few days to allow the intelligence officer an opportunity to learn what he could of the defences, to observe the doings of

the Russian fleet, and generally to get such information as we could.

The defences were undoubtedly very strong. Guns stared one in the face at every point. Forts crowned all the heights about the entrance and as far back in the country as the eye could reach. Many thousands of artillery soldiers, fine, athletic-looking men, garrisoned the harbour works, and, as nearly as we could learn, fifteen thousand Cossacks were encamped a short distance from the city. I saw many of them when I was on shore—large, heavy-looking men, with red beards—riding their fine horses about the streets at breakneck speed, or else rolling from side to side because of the liquor they had consumed. The city was a lake of mud, sticky red stuff, about the consistency of molasses and up to one's knees in most places. Saloons were in evidence everywhere—large buildings, well lighted, attractive by reason of women and wine, and full to overflowing day and night. No boom mining town in our western country ever equalled it. Champagne and vodka literally flowed over the door sills as well as down human throats. Officers in gorgeous uniforms, as well as private soldiers, seemed to fancy these houses of pleasure. It was a new feature in preparing for a great war, which they, it must be said, did not believe was coming, but which was, to the casual observer, in plain sight. It certainly did not promise well for Russia when the struggle should come.

The ships of the fleet seemed in worse condition for service than the forts. Most of them were out of commission or under repairs, their crews living in barracks on shore. Some drilling was done every day, but it

seemed to us of a perfunctory or trifling nature. The officers enjoyed life at the Naval Club, a well-organised and useful society, necessary to relieve the strain of long service on this out-of-the-way station.

During the forenoon of the third day of our visit I sent word to the authorities that I would sail on the following morning for the Japanese port of Hakodate, offering to take mails. Immediately I received, at the hands of a staff officer, an invitation to dine with the rear-admiral, second in command, at eight o'clock that evening—short notice for a formal dinner certainly. I assumed that the dinner was for my friend Admiral Maréchal and his officers, but such was not the case. Admiral Skrydloff, the able commander-in-chief, was absent on a Russian cruiser, looking after some coal deposits which had been discovered on the coast. The dinner was given for me by Admiral Stark, second in command, and the French officers were not invited. When I arrived on the flagship at the time named, several Russian officers courteously assisted me in removing my heavy overcoat. One of them was the admiral.

"Why are you going to sea to-morrow?" he asked me, his voice somewhat excited.

I told him as politely as I could that I was going to sea because I had business in that direction. It then developed that some one had started the story that I was offended because three French ships had been permitted to enter instead of two; that I was going to sea to show my resentment. I assured the admiral that the French were our staunch friends, that the Russians were the same, and if I had felt for a moment that any unfriendly reflection was intended I should have re-

mained quietly at anchor until it was explained. This seemed to satisfy him, his excitement disappeared, and the dinner was served.

It was a curious repast—the first large Russian dinner I had ever attended. There were present a dozen or more Russian officers, all speaking English perfectly, many of them men who were to figure prominently in the coming war. I was deeply interested in their conversation, particularly in their views of the coming struggle, which they expressed very freely after they had warmed up with vodka and champagne. I was amazed at the amount those men ate and drank. Their physical condition was perfect. A side table contained every kind of appetiser I ever heard of, many I had never before seen—salt or dried fish of every kind, several varieties of caviar, vodka, and cordials of every brand. When these things had been sampled—all of them were—dinner seemed superfluous. It was eaten, however, and apparently enjoyed. First came a very large dish of soup, followed by a thick slice of fish, the like of which I had never before tasted. It proved to be sturgeon. Meat was then served—beef, which I was sure did not come from Chicago; it was too tough—and the dinner was over except for drink and conversation. I did not partake of the former, but greatly enjoyed the latter.

Some one—Admiral Stark, I think—started the subject of the trouble with Japan, and, as the wine began to tell, the conversation became most interesting to those who, like myself, were intent listeners. A captain who had once served as naval attaché in London, evidently looked upon as an able speaker, was fluent in expressing his ideas and those of his brother officers.

He held that Japan would never dare to come to blows with Russia. She was too weak and had not the money for that game, but if she should so dare, the result was inevitable. The Russian navy would be held behind the defences of Vladivostock and Port Arthur until the Japanese had invaded Manchuria. I held my breath while waiting to know what the speaker thought would happen then. He went on, with great excitement, to say that the Japanese might land two hundred thousand men or more (the English could come with them if they cared to); the Russian navy would then sally forth, cut all lines of communication, and allow the unfortunate invader to die of starvation. The reference to the English was because of their alliance with Japan, just then announced. The matter of the three French ships was an indication of the Russian alliance with France.

The sentiments expressed by this able captain met with the approval of his comrades; their applause seemed genuine and hearty. The naval part of the programme was followed in part when war came, for the fleet was divided as proposed. The Japanese saw to it that they were never united, but were destroyed in detail. The landing in Manchuria was also carried out, but the starving part failed completely. The Japanese army and navy proved capable of looking after themselves when the time came. If, as the captain suggested, the English had taken an active part, the struggle would have assumed the features of a great picnic. When the war that came later was being fought, I often thought of this dinner. The admiral who gave it was in command of the fleet at

Port Arthur when the Japanese made their successful attack on the 9th of February. He was attending a ball on shore at the time, still confident, I suppose, that they would never be attacked. I was sorry that Skrydloff, one of the ablest men in our profession, was not at the dinner. I am sure his views would have been different from those I heard expressed. Mackaroff and Skrydloff were the two men who could have saved the Russian fleet if it were possible to do so after the first grave blunder of dividing it had been made; for both were masters of their profession, the latter a bright, shining light among torpedo men. Mackaroff went down with his flagship when she struck a mine off Port Arthur, and Skrydloff arrived when that port was besieged by Nogi and was unable to get to the fleet.

Still in search of a port free from cholera, I left Vladivostock and ran over to Hakodate, on the Island of Yesso, where I found what I was looking for. During the week of our stay the pretty little Japanese town was filled with American sailors, enjoying to the full the hospitality of the people. This is one of the great fish markets of the East. The sight of the fishing fleet at night, like the lights of some great floating city, is worth a long trip. And the fish, when the boats come in, are beautiful to look at and delicious to eat. On shore everything indicated preparations for war—quiet preparations, but most thorough. The forts in course of construction, the soldiers quietly drilling everywhere, and the look on the brown faces, meant only one thing—a determination to defend their country to the last man. How the Russians failed to understand this is beyond me. Their spies were thick here, as elsewhere

in Japan, yet they thought there was to be no war, or pretended to think so.

Hakodate was historically interesting. It was here that my old friend Admiral Enomoto made his last stand during the Shogunate rebellion, and here he lost his last ships, old sailing craft, after one of the hardest fights in Japanese history. I saw him several times in 1867, when the present Emperor was a growing lad; later I met him at dinner in Tokio and heard from his own lips how the battle of Hakodate was fought, and, as I had just then visited the harbour, the account was interesting and thrilling. The admiral, now a peer of the realm, enjoys good health and renders valuable service to his government.

The commander-in-chief had notified me to meet him in Yokohama harbour, where I found most of the fleet assembled. Orders had come from Washington to hold extended fleet exercises during the fall and winter at Manila or in that vicinity, and those vessels that were north would sail in company for the Philippines, thus securing the benefit of tactical work on the way.

A few days after my arrival at Yokohama we had an example of the thorough way in which the Japanese do things. Two or three cases of bubonic plague developed in a section of the city bordering on the water, probably from a merchant ship unloading freight, causing something of a panic among the people. The government took charge at once, removed all who had been exposed to contagion, well people and sick, to the hospital, built a sheet-iron defence across the point of land containing warehouses and dwellings, called out the fire department, set fire to the buildings, and de-

stroyed every one of them. The fence prevented the escape of rats. They were either burned to death or killed by men detailed for the purpose, and the plague was not heard of again. A rat lottery was organised, cash prizes of considerable value offered, and about forty thousand rats were caught. Seventy per cent of them had plague.

## CHAPTER XVI

### UP THE YANGTZE RIVER

EARLY in September the commander-in-chief advised me that he would turn over the command of the station to me in November, and sail for San Francisco in his flagship, the New York. Much of the inspection work which I had laid out for myself remained uncompleted, for my time had been fully occupied with other matters. The importance of these inspections was so great that I determined to complete them before assuming the more exacting duties of commander-in-chief, as no additional time could then be found, I was sure.

In pursuance of this plan I left Yokohama, having the Yorktown in company, on September 19th, passed the bar at the mouth of the Yangtze River at high water without trouble, though we stirred up the mud for several miles, and anchored off Wusung, China, on the morning of the 23d. On the passage down the coast the weather was bad. We were comfortable on the Kentucky, but they were not so on the Yorktown, and she had to drop out of sight. She could cross the bar at any stage of the tide; the Kentucky, drawing so much more water, must get over at the top of high water.

The low mud forts about Wusung looked about the

same to me as when I had last seen them, thirty-five years before. There were more of them and some of the guns were heavier, but the general effect was the same. Nothing, indeed, changes much in China, except where foreigners take a hand—cities grow dirtier, graveyards spread out over more country; but the general aspect is unchanged to-day or fifty years from now. Things that are purely Chinese cannot be changed unless wiped out and begun anew. I remember asking a Russian officer of rank how he proposed to colonise Manchuria—by moving in whole Russian families or by allowing their soldiers to take Chinese wives and raise families. He replied that it would have to be done by bringing in whole families, as, if the soldiers married Chinese women—many of them had done so—the children would be half Chinese, or more than half, and the next generation pure Chinese—in appearance, at least. They bred back to the great mass, four hundred millions of people, behind the women. It seemed to me that everything I saw in China pointed to the same result; one could not change anything Chinese unless one eliminated the Chinese element completely in the beginning.

Before visiting Wusung I had made arrangements for a trip up the Yangtze as far as one of our ships could go. Our missionaries and merchants were scattered through the valley of this river and the adjoining country for hundreds of miles, and the feeling among them, since the close of the Boxer trouble, was that their lives were constantly in danger. How to aid them was a most important question. It was desirable to look the ground over and see for myself just

what could be done, and determine upon some plan of rescue if it became necessary. I selected for the trip the gunboat Helena, commanded by Captain R. R. Ingersoll, an officer of marked ability who had spent much time on the river and knew the conditions better than any other officer under my command. I also requested Lieutenant-Commander Marsh, naval attaché for Tokio and Pekin, to accompany me, which he kindly consented to do. During the time he had been on duty in the East, this officer had shown astonishing aptitude for the work given him. His ability to deal with Asiatics, his wonderful tact and courtesy in his intercourse with them, added to his professional qualifications, which were of the highest order, had enabled him to collect a mass of information most useful to me and his government. By his untiring energy he had succeeded in photographing every important fort and battery on the river we were to ascend, and his advice and assistance were most valuable to me during the entire trip.

When I had completed my inspection work and was about to sail for Wusung, the Austrian cruiser, Maria Theresa, came in and anchored. The last time I had seen her was off the harbour of Santiago, Cuba, after the battle of the 3d of July, 1898. It will be recalled that on that occasion our guns had been trained on her, and that she narrowly escaped the fate of the Spanish ships because her flag was so much like theirs. Upon returning the official call of her captain, I found among her officers some who had been on board at Santiago, and they laughingly admitted that their position on that occasion was critical, to say the least! A delicate at-

tempt on my part to ascertain the real reason for their presence off the coast at that particular time failed.

On September 27th I transferred my flag, staff, and band to the Helena, and proceeded up the river. The constantly changing channel of the river required the services of an expert pilot, and, because of his excellent reputation, I selected Mr. Langley, an American, of Shanghai, who rendered me good service. The river was almost in flood condition, very high stage of water, at least, which enabled us to look over many miles of the flat, fertile valley of the Yangtze, every foot under cultivation as far as the eye could reach. The population was dense; all the men, women, and children were engaged in gathering the enormous crop which the season had produced. They were most friendly toward us, glad to have us visit them, but this was not the case either with their dogs or their cattle; the former would bite on the least provocation; the latter, the carabao, a clumsy sort of ox with enormous horns, would attack us simply because we were not Chinese. Hunting parties of officers always found it better to have a few Chinese attendants to ward off these savage brutes. We were glad to see the abundant crops. So long as the people had good supplies of food there would probably be no fighting and bloodshed.

On my way up river I stopped at a few points only. It was necessary to take advantage of the high water, which would only last for a few weeks at most and might begin to fall any day. I anchored only to take on coal and supplies and change pilots when necessary. The native pilots were a curious lot, able in their line, but the most suspicious creatures I ever fell in with. At

Hankow I employed two of them to take us as far as Ichang. They brought with them their own leadsmen, for they were afraid our seamen would not give them the proper soundings, and their own cook, fearing that our cooks would poison them in cooking their food. When I saw afterwards what they were eating, I wondered that they did not poison themselves! At Ichang we had to stop because of the rapids a few miles above the city. The Helena drew too much water, and her engines were not powerful enough to drive her against the force of the current; in fact, it was about all she could do to hold on when she was anchored. No vessel of her size and strength of battery had ever before come so far up the river, eleven hundred miles from Shanghai. The natives were much impressed with her appearance, particularly with the guns, mounted so high in her military tops that they could command the country by firing over the tops of the river banks. This was just the thing I wanted them to understand. The Yangtze was navigable more than two thousand five hundred miles above Ichang, but only specially designed steamers of high power and small draught could make the trip. Trading vessels, Chinese junks, came down with the current and made the return trip under sail until they reached the rapids, when they were towed up by coolies. Paths had been cut in the rocks hundreds of years ago, worn as smooth as glass now by the thousands of feet that had marched over them, tugging at the tow lines. The English keep a small gunboat of light draught at Ichang the year round; the French two such gunboats at Chung King above the rapids.

At a favourable moment I secured a comfortable house boat for a trip through the first rapid, for time did not permit a longer journey. Having stocked her with food and water for the day, my staff and our invited guests went on board, the steam launch of the Kentucky took us in tow and, by carefully watching the eddies, managed to pull us through to our destination without accident.

The scenery in this gorge, or rapid, is very beautiful. For thousands of years the great river has rushed and swirled between banks of solid rock, gradually cutting it away until the walls rise sheer from the river-bed to a height of two to four thousand feet, gorgeously coloured in exquisite tints found elsewhere, so far as I know, only in the Grand Cañons of the Colorado. Surmounting these cliffs, or nestling among them, are fine old Chinese temples, well preserved, which richly repay one for a visit. Between these vertical walls the yellow-brown river, the Mississippi of the East, tumbles and eddies on its way to the sea, carrying thousands of tons of products of the interior of this wonderful country to the outside world. The rush of the current is awe-inspiring, hard to describe, yet not unlike the current of the Mississippi, rushing and swirling through a break in its banks. At the lowest stage of water divers find on the bottom of the river beautiful stones, some of them half the size of an egg, brought by the current thousands of miles, polished by contact with the bottom in their long journey, which are valued almost as jewels. I was fortunate in securing fine specimens of these, no two of them alike in colour, and all beautifully brilliant.

Among my callers at Ichang were some very interesting men. American interests were represented entirely by the missionary element, and two fine members of that body, Rev. Mr. Huntington and his daughter, told of their labours among the natives. I was surprised by the call of a captain of the German army in spotless uniform, of neat military bearing, and with an air of business withal. When opportunity offered I asked him if he was exploring this country for his amusement. He replied that he was not, but that he was soliciting trade for Germany, and on the following day he was to start on a trip of two hundred and fifty miles into the interior for the same purpose. This, in a sphere of supposed purely English influence, if persisted in, may cause serious friction. It seemed to me, without wishing in the remotest degree to reflect on their religious work, that our missionaries might, while serving the Lord, also do our merchants a good turn after the fashion of the German captain.

The representatives of two great church parties, the English Roman Catholic and the French Jesuits, did me the honour to call on me. The English Archbishop rather complained of the advantage the French had by reason of the fact that his government, through diplomatic channels, had secured the right for a native of his faith to communicate *directly* with the Tao-Tai, or governor. In case of a dispute between two Chinese, over a land suit for instance, one an English Catholic and the other a French convert, the French convert, by having free access to the Tao-Tai, could have the claim settled in his favour before the English Catholic could get into court, so to speak. This was interesting,



At Ichang, China.

as was the further point—i. e., that the French were making more converts than the others because of the finer and more striking features of their *Joss houses* (churches). The number and character of their pictures seemed to attract the Chinese to their faith. The Catholic Archbishop was in the orthodox dress of his order, while the Frenchman was in Chinese dress, his hair in a long pig tail down his back. It was a great game these two shrewd men were playing, attempting to reform and "civilise" a people who were highly civilised a thousand years before the nations they represented knew the meaning of the word, when they were, in fact, roaming wild in the woods.

The water began to fall in the river October 7th, which caused me to get under way and start down stream on the 8th. My visit had been successful and I hoped useful. The customs authorities informed me that the Helena was the largest ship that had ever visited Ichang, that her presence and the fact that she could return would have a quieting effect on the restless class of the population. We anchored off Hankow on the evening of the 10th, and the following morning ran over to Wuchang, a few miles above and on the opposite side of the river, for the purpose of paying my respects to the Viceroy, Cheng-Chi-Tung.

Lui-Kun-Yu and Cheng-Chi-Tung were the Viceroys of the Yangtze river provinces before and during the Boxer troubles. To them, foreigners of all nations owe more than to any other two men in China. Of great ability, force of character, and judgment, they held their people in check, prevented any outbreak, and could boast, after the war was over, that not an out-

rage had been perpetrated in all the land under their control. I hoped to visit both of them but only saw one. Lui-Kun-Yu died while we were up the river, and our flag flew at half-mast for twenty-four hours in honour of his memory.

When I called on the Viceroy at Wuchang I was received in great state, at the same time in a most friendly spirit. The guard to receive me consisted of a battalion of infantry equal in smartness to any I saw in the East of any nationality. Later I saw a part of the army, inspected the men, and had a good look at them. They were well set up, well uniformed, well armed, well disciplined, and looked as if they would make good fighters. All told, this army consisted of about twenty thousand effective, efficient men. Cheng-Chi-Tung's course during the Boxer War did not meet the approval of her Majesty the Empress Dowager, and when the trouble was over she summoned him to Pekin with the idea, probably, of inflicting some punishment. From long experience—he was over sixty years old—he suspected what was in store for him, and, instead of going, replied that he would come later, bringing with him fifteen thousand men! Her Majesty did not wish to see his men in her capital, he did not wish to ascertain either the depth of a well, the efficacy of an opium pill, nor the strength of a silken cord in the hands of a couple of court eunuchs, so the visit was postponed for a long time. Eventually I met him in Pekin, and shall have more to say of him in connection with my visit to that wonderful city.

My call on Cheng-Chi-Tung, made at eleven o'clock in the morning, was returned the same afternoon by

him. He was accompanied by a gorgeously dressed suite, himself in clothes of very fine material, but not so ornate as his suite. We received him with all the honours due his rank, and then retired to the cabin for tea and talk. The custom of serving tea on occasions of ceremony is universal, but, unless understood and properly performed, it may give offence. The teacups must be of a certain large size, with covers of the same material and design as the cups, so that they look, indeed, like inverted saucers. The tea must be strong and served without sugar or other "condiment." When all have been supplied, the host, followed by his guests, raises the cup to his lips with both hands, tips the cover a bit with the forefingers, drinks about half the contents, and replaces the cup on the table. When the guest wishes to leave, he raises his cup as the host has done, drinks what remains in the cup, and takes his departure. If the host takes the second draught of tea without waiting for his guest to do so, it is a signal that he wishes to terminate the interview, and so it may be considered an insult.

After our first sip of tea the Viceroy, the most progressive of all Chinese, explained to me at length the construction and working of his steel plant, blast furnaces, etc. He was prepared to make structural steel of fine quality, and was erecting a rail mill of large proportions for the manufacture of steel rails and all finished products to come from raw material found in China—iron ore and coal. Then he asked me if I thought paper could be made from the fibre of the reeds which grew in such profusion along the banks of the river or on ground not used for cultivation. I had ex-

amined these same reeds and knew that they contained a fine, strong fibre that would make excellent paper; so I answered that I thought it could—in fact, I was sure of it. For more than an hour he questioned and cross-questioned me on this subject: how were the reeds to be gathered; to what treatment were they then to be subjected; how was the fibre to be extracted and how was paper to be made from it; what kind of machinery would be necessary; what would it cost; and, finally, what was the best American firm to order it from. He certainly kept my brains well stirred up for an hour or more! Fortunately I had been employed in constructing a large fibre-extracting plant years before, and could, therefore, answer his questions with some degree of intelligence. In discussing his steel plant I, of course, felt quite at home. During the entire interview the pipe-bearer to the Viceroy was constantly busy. Standing behind his chair, he filled the long-stemmed pipe and passed it over the master's shoulders. The Viceroy took two or three whiffs, inhaled the smoke, passed the pipe back, and the dose was repeated. When he raised his cup, swallowed the remaining contents, shook his own hands, and said good-bye, I felt that I had had one of the most interesting visits possible.

On my way down the river I anchored at all important points, communicated with our representatives, and learned what I could of conditions generally. The question that was troubling me most was the rescue of our missionaries in case of an outbreak, which was threatening because of the death of Viceroy Lui-Kun-Yu and the assuming by Cheng-Chi-Tung of his functions at Nanking. It was thought by many that the

unruly element would take advantage of this occasion to break out into open rioting, murder all foreigners, and kick up a rumpus generally.

We arrived at Wuhu on the 14th of October, and at once communicated with Dr. Hart, in charge of the American missionary hospital at that point, and arranged with him to receive and care for all Americans and other foreigners who should apply to him in case the threatened trouble came. The position of the hospital and surrounding buildings was such that I could defend them with a small landing force until ships could come to the rescue. I sent notices to all the missionaries I could reach of this plan, and requested them to start at once for the rendezvous when they felt the time had come. This was about all that could be done at that time; later on a more comprehensive scheme was devised and put in force.

When we reached Nanking I found that our consul had made arrangements for me to call on the acting Viceroy. The following day, accompanied by my staff, I went to the city, made the call, and was received with ceremony and cordiality. The Yamen (residence of the Viceroy) was surrounded by a large body of troops and crowded with Chinese officials, whose faces clearly indicated that they, at least, had heard the rumours of trouble to come. I was escorted by high officials to the Yamen of the late Viceroy, where I placed a wreath upon his coffin, which gave great satisfaction to the natives present. We were invited to partake of luncheon in a room adjoining the one in which the body was lying in state. The day was intensely hot, we were in our special full-dress uniforms,

the embalming of the body had not been carefully done, and it can be imagined how we enjoyed our food! Etiquette required that we should not remove our heavy chapeaux; the swarms of flies buzzed and bit, and the odours from the adjoining room filled the air; but eat we must, and eat we did, though we did not enjoy it. It was a great relief when we again reached the open air, dense as it was with dust, and started for home.

In the harbour of Nanking I found a great many junks (Chinese trading vessels) flying the American flag. This gave them a great advantage over vessels flying the Chinese ensign in the matter of duties if they traded up the river. Tao-Tais of the different provinces could not collect duties from a vessel flying our flag, and the "squeeze," which often amounted to as much as the duty, would not be exacted for fear of the consequences which would be sure to follow. It seemed curious that so many Chinese merchants at one place could be entitled to the protection of our flag, and upon inquiry of our consul—who was clean and honest, one of the best in the East—I was told that the vessels came from Shanghai and had secured their papers from the consulate at that port. I requested the consul to notify each of the vessels that I would start an investigation at once and find out how they came by this right; if I found that any of them were not bona-fide American citizens, I would have them severely punished. Then most of the flags came down! Later the consul at Shanghai was removed for various offences which could not pass the searching scrutiny of Mr. Pierce, Assistant Secretary of State, who was sent out to inves-



Ensign Evans, Aide. | Midshipman W. W. Smith, U.S.S. Helena. | Dr. Wang, Foreign Office, Nanking.

Lieut. Chapin, Flag Lieutenant. | B. C. Wang, Interpreter U. S. Consulate, Nanking. | Lieut. Washington, Flag Secretary. | Mr. Wm. Martin, U. S. Consul, Nanking. | Admiral Evans. | Li Shao Fen, Provincial Treasurer and Acting Viceroy. | Comdr. Ingersoll, U.S.S. Helena. | Wong Kia-tong, Chief Commissioner, Foreign Office, Nanking. | Lieut.-Comdr. Marsh, U. S. Naval Attaché, Tokio, Japan. | Lieut. Gates, U.S.S. Helena.

Party attending funeral ceremonies of Lui-Kun-Yu, Viceroy of the Province of Nanking.

tigate. And this consul was not the only one who came to grief in the same way.

It was very important that we should have a good ship, with a clear-headed captain in command, at Nanking when the new Viceroy took office. Captain Ingersoll was the man for the duty—firm, of excellent judgment, and, above all, well versed in treaty rights and obligations. I was indeed fortunate in having such an officer commanding a ship in such excellent condition and discipline at my disposal. That the Helena might be in all respects ready for this important duty, it was necessary that I should get back to Wusung as quickly as possible. Therefore, on the 17th of October, I transferred my flag again to the Kentucky and sent Captain Ingersoll on his mission. I left my temporary flagship with regret. Every officer and man on board of her had done his best to make me and my staff comfortable and to give us a good time, and they had succeeded to my entire satisfaction. The example set by these officers and men might well be followed by others. It is too often felt that the presence of a flag officer on board is a fit occasion to show him how unwelcome he is.

During my stay at Wusung I obtained from various sources the details of the most important American interest at that time in this section of China—the concession to the American-China Development Company, whose agent, a brilliant New York lawyer, Mr. Clarence Cary, I afterwards met and had the pleasure of entertaining. An old acquaintance of mine, I had made the trip across the Pacific with him in the Gaelic, and the more I saw of him the greater was my admiration for his remarkable attainments.

The concession mentioned above had been granted the previous year for the exclusive right to construct a railroad from Canton to Hankow, a distance approximately of seven hundred miles. Starting from Canton, the road was to follow the valley of the Pehkiang about one hundred and fifty miles; then for thirty miles over a divide, with a maximum elevation of six hundred feet above the valley, to the valley of the Siang River, and to follow that to its junction with the Yangtze; thence to Wuchang, opposite Hankow. The route thus chosen lies along that followed by the Chinese traders between north and south China for centuries past, and along this line numerous commercial cities have grown up because of this enormous trade. The route had been surveyed in 1896 and 1897, but, owing to the disturbances in the interior of the country and because of the Boxer outbreak, no progress was made until about one year before the time of my visit, when the final terms of the concession were ratified by the Pekin authorities.

Under the concession, the road was to be of broad gauge, well built, and completed as far as practicable within three years; the company to start with a paid-in capital of three millions of dollars gold, authorised to issue bonds, guaranteed by the road property, to the extent of forty millions gold, bearing five per cent interest. The concession was for eighty years; at the expiration of that time the road was to revert to the Chinese government upon payment of the market value of the stock, but the government reserved the right to purchase it upon the same terms at any time after forty years. The rolling stock and material for building the road is to be purchased wherever desired, but the com-

pany has an agreement with the Belgian Syndicate, now engaged in building a railway from Hankow to Pekin, by which Belgium is to be given preference in the purchase of material, provided it cannot be bought more advantageously in the United States.

At the time of which I am writing the American company had opened offices in Shanghai for general management of its affairs, and was preparing to begin work at both ends of the line—Canton and Wuchung. The management was to be entirely in the hands of Americans. The bonds were to be floated abroad, but the Chinese could purchase if they so desired.

Cheng-Chi-Tung, as I have before stated, was Viceroy of the Hunan province. He was, without doubt, the most progressive of all Chinese officials, and deeply interested in the completion of this road. By it he could distribute the output of his various mills throughout its entire length. He issued proclamations to the local mandarins along the line to be followed to furnish all labour desired, and to afford every assistance to the engineers engaged in the work.

The route of the road lies through the richest and most populous part of the Chinese Empire, and was the first step toward bringing the enormous wealth of the interior cities into touch with shipping centres. The natural deposits of iron, coal, and other minerals are supposed to be very valuable, and the company was granted the right to construct and run branch lines to any mines which might be found along its course.

On the whole, it may be confidently said that this concession, with its attendant privileges, was the most valuable yet granted by the Chinese government to the

people of any country, and if carried out as then intended it would greatly enhance American importance and prestige in the East. Upon the completion of this line and that under construction of the Belgian Syndicate from Hankow to Pekin, Canton and Southern China will be placed in direct railway communication, via Pekin and the English line, to Shan Hai Kwan, and the Manchurian lines, through Newchwang and the Trans-Siberian line, with western Europe.

All information about this concession was of great interest to me for many reasons, mainly because I felt sure that sooner or later I should be called upon to protect, maybe to rescue, the foreigners engaged in construction work which was to be under American management. To avoid passing through graveyards, which cover a wonderful amount of territory in China, the projected road would have to be very crooked, involving much additional expense, which, I was sure, the management did not contemplate. If run through these graveyards, I was sure that serious trouble would follow, for the Chinese hold the graveyards of their people as very sacred, and will not allow them to be interfered with. It was not long before my views proved correct. A working party began cutting through a graveyard; and to avoid it meant going many miles out of their way or removing the bodies interred there to a new location. Friction was the result, and a gunboat, with a determined officer in command, reached the point with great difficulty in time to rescue the party. There was no large river reaching far into the country, and navigation through the canals and small streams was most difficult.

## CHAPTER XVII

### IN COMMAND OF THE ASIATIC STATION

My work at Wusung completed, I hurried back to Yokohama to meet the commander-in-chief, who had notified me that I was to relieve him. On October 29th the New York flew the signal, "By direction of the Secretary of the Navy, I turn over to you the command of the Asiatic station," tripped her anchor, broke out her long homeward-bound pennant, and sailed for San Francisco. There was much cheering, band playing, and saluting as Admiral Rodgers passed out to sea. He had been a most popular commander-in-chief. The men of the fleet knew that he was my cherished personal friend, which led to the ships being what we call "chum ships." There was much good feeling between the crews of the two flagships, for men, as a rule, follow the example set by their officers. If they are "chummy," then the crews are the same.

The order giving me command of the entire station more than doubled the work and responsibility, which I had found quite sufficient as squadron commander, but the promotion was what I had been looking for, and I was more than willing to undertake what it brought with it. The records of the station were transferred to the Kentucky, and I spent many days and nights, assisted by my staff, making myself familiar with all that

had taken place on the station, particularly in the Philippine division. I issued the order assuming command, notified all our diplomatic and consular agents and all foreign commanders, and prepared for hard work.

Of the many important matters turned over to me by the late commander-in-chief, one required immediate and close attention. The Navy Department had ordered that all available ships on the station be assembled at Manila during the winter for extensive fleet work and manœuvres; but the character of the work and the extent of the manœuvres were left for me to determine. I was entirely in accord with the department, recognising the absolute necessity for the exercises they had ordered. As a preliminary, I directed all the ships of the northern squadron, including the monitors Monterey and Monadnock, to proceed to Amoy, China, where I would give them a few lessons in fleet work before sailing for the south. The two monitors had remained at anchor so long that the propriety of sending them to sea was doubtful, for they might meet with some serious trouble because of the lack of experience of their engine-room forces. The best way to determine this, and many other things as well, was to send them to sea and keep them there a reasonable time for practice. They went when ordered, arrived at Amoy in due time, did their work, and returned to their stations much improved by their cruise. Neither of them could go to Manila; one had to remain at Shanghai as guardship, the other at Canton, where the turbulent population was constantly threatening to make trouble for all foreign residents.

A large number of officers—all services had such—believed implicitly in the value of torpedo boats, and thought, or pretended to think, that these much-talked-of terrors of the sea could destroy any battleship afloat without serious risk to themselves. I was not in this school, and did not believe then, nor do I now, that a fleet of battleships is in serious danger from this cause if proper precautions are taken and the battleship men can use their guns with accuracy. A ship will occasionally be destroyed by torpedo boats or submarines—a man will occasionally slip on a banana peel and break his neck. We may look for such accidents, but there won't be many of them. We had no torpedo boats to practise with, and a substitute had to be provided, for I fully intended to find out, if I could, just how effective the fire of a battleship would prove against an attacking boat. I quote the following order issued at that time to show how I meant to carry out this intention. I believe we were the first in all the navies of the world to conduct such an experiment:

Flagship Kentucky,
Yokohama, Japan, October 31, 1902.

Sir:

1. For use as a towing target during the prospective manœuvres of the fleet you will please have constructed and ready for service on my arrival a suitable target upon the following general lines:

A condemned sailing launch, or other large boat, to be built up to resemble as nearly as possible a thwartship section of a torpedo boat, with a light wood or cork filling, in order to ensure her floating as high out of the water as possible after being struck a number of

times, all to be covered with canvas and painted the dull black torpedo colour.

2. I desire that the target, when towed, should resemble as closely as practicable a torpedo boat coming bow on to make an attack, and I leave the details of building up the target to your judgment as to the most suitable manner from the materials to be had.

Respectfully,
(Signed) R. D. Evans.

This order was sent to Rear-Admiral Wildes, commanding the southern squadron. The target was built by Captain Couden at the Cavité naval station, and its fate will be given later on. Orders were sent at the same time to prepare gun platforms for the four-inch guns of the Princeton and Annapolis, as I intended to land them to provide defence for a temporary advanced base in the contemplated drills.

The question of how our officers should dress for dinner had caused much discussion in the service, particularly on the Asiatic station. In all other navies a "mess dress" was prescribed and worn. We were required to provide ourselves with evening uniform and mess jackets, but it was not imperative that we should use them except when signal was made to that effect. The desirability of having all officers appear in a neat and comfortable uniform at dinner was so evident that I issued an order on the subject, which I give here. It will prove of interest to naval readers, since it shows the first official order on the subject. The matter was later settled by the incorporation into the Naval Regulations of an order to the same effect. A few officers held the opinion that the commander-in-chief could not

legally compel them to appear for their meals in any particular uniform. One of these took his dinner in his room for several days after the order was given, then quietly did as he was told. A few days later, when the ship was coaling, word was passed that officers would not dress for dinner that day, whereupon this same officer was heard to say, "I can't see why coaling ship should prevent me from dressing like a gentleman for my dinner!" Officers will growl as well as enlisted men.

FLAGSHIP KENTUCKY,
YOKOHAMA, JAPAN, November 3, 1902.

Fleet General Order No. 4.

The uniform for dinner for all commissioned officers and midshipmen on the station, except those attached to the small gunboats having only one or two line officers on board, shall be either evening dress or mess jackets.

The designation of the particular uniform is left to the commanding officer, but either one or the other must be worn at dinner.

(Signed) R. D. EVANS,
*Rear-Admiral U. S. Navy,*
*Commander-in-Chief U. S. Naval*
*Force on Asiatic Station.*

All the ships on the station, except the small gunboats in the Philippines, were assembled at Amoy at the end of November. Gun pointers were constantly firing with the ping-pong machines. Boat drills were held daily, and men were landed for shore drills in a large field, the use of which had been secured by our consul. In a word, preliminary drills of all kinds were constant, and the good effect was seen at once. I had made up

my mind that we must have more athletics for the men, and issued orders on the subject. Part of each day must be devoted to that sort of work. When the drills were over the men were landed at a point convenient to the athletic field, and for two hours baseball, football, and track athletics were indulged in. It was necessary that the officers and men should work hard at their drills on board ship; it was also of great importance that they should be kept in proper condition by playing hard on shore. "To be more ready to fight," as the President directed, involved something besides hard work at the guns. This something was proper physical training, and to give it to the crews in some pleasant way was my object. It is easy to work men until they are discontented and unhappy, and nearly as easy to make them do the same amount of work, some of it in the shape of play, and have them in excellent condition, if one knows how to do it.

A regatta was arranged for winding up our work at Amoy; sailing races and pulling races for all classes of boats, manned by different classes of men—seamen, marines, and engine-room crews. This was made more interesting by the fact that the British battleship Goliath, commanded by Captain Henderson, an old friend of mine, had anchored in the harbour, and her officers and crew were anxious to join in our sports. They were handicapped in pulling races because their boats were so much heavier than ours. To remove this drawback and give them a fair chance to win, I requested them to select such of our boats as they fancied, which they did, and the boats were turned over to them for a week or more, that they might practise in them. The races

were finely contested, but our English friends failed to win in any of them except the sailing ones, in which the superiority of their boats was manifest. The sailing barge of the Kentucky, the admiral's boat, was decidedly the smartest boat of all under sail. I had purchased a set of racing sails for her in Yokohama, and Lieutenant Evans handled her in such a seamanlike manner that she easily led the large fleet of boats. She was never beaten in a sailing race either on that station or at home until her rig was changed. The Amoy regatta started a spirit of sport which continued during our stay in Eastern waters, and contributed largely to the excellent physical condition of our crews.

At the conclusion of the war between Japan and China the former country had demanded the cession of the island of Formosa. China, unable to resist the demand, had yielded, and the island, with its wild and savage tribes, had passed from under the Dragon flag. From its geographical position it was a most valuable base for operations against any part of the coast of China, particularly so at Amoy, which was in about the same latitude and only a short distance away. When this change of ownership took place we were looking for a coaling station in that vicinity, and the Chinese government, aware of our friendly feeling, was in favour of giving us one. The story is told that the governor of Amoy province asked a naval commander of our service to hoist our flag and take possession of the harbour of Amoy, saying that no resistance would be made, and that the question of Japan ever seizing it would be settled! Had such an offer been made to, let us say, a German or a French naval officer, what would

have been the result? Our man had to report the matter to Washington, which he no doubt did, but nothing came of it. If Mr. Theodore Roosevelt had been President, I think we should have acquired a coaling station at Amoy. Such stations are, in some respects, as important as an interoceanic canal! No one can doubt what the result would have been had such an offer been made to one of the foreign officers I have mentioned.

Formosa is valuable for two reasons only: she has a wonderful climate for tea raising, and she has great strategic value as a military base. Whether these are of sufficient importance to warrant the expenditure of blood and money they have cost is a question for Japan to consider, but I think we may assume without fear of contradiction that either Germany or France would be glad of the bargain at many times the price Japan paid.

Before going to Manila it was necessary that the Kentucky should be docked and have her bottom painted. Hong Kong was the only place where this could be done, and I therefore ran down to that port, taking with me most of the vessels assembled at Amoy. It was my desire to meet, personally, the officer in command of the English fleet, Vice-Admiral Sir Cyprian A. C. Bridge, who had courteously offered me the use of the buoys in man-of-war anchorage when not in use by his own ships. I arrived on December 3d, had my interview with Sir Cyprian, made the numerous calls necessary at this important port, and then placed the Kentucky in dock. During the next two years I saw this British admiral and his officers on many occasions. I came to know them well, and with some of them

formed lasting friendships, and received from them the kindness and courtesy they always extend to men of our service. I cannot overstate my admiration for them. Admiral Bridge, justly esteemed one of the leaders in his profession, though a very busy man with the great responsibilities of his command, always had time to receive a visit from me and listen to any suggestion I had to make with reference to matters in which we were jointly concerned. My relations with him and his gallant comrades were such as to increase the friendly feeling existing, which I sincerely hope will always continue between our two countries.

During the time my flagship was in dock I again transferred to the Helena, she having returned from her important mission at Nanking, and ran up to Canton to see for myself what the conditions were at that important point. The air was full of rumours of approaching trouble; riots and bloodshed were anticipated on all sides, and I was curious to find out how much foundation there really was for all the excitement and unrest that existed. I hurried one of the monitors back to the city and had her moored where her heavy guns would afford the greatest amount of protection to the residents of the foreign quarter. Many years before the time of which I am writing, the Chinese government had granted "Shameen," an island formed by the river and a large canal, to foreigners as a place of residence, and here they were settled in handsome houses provided by their different governments. The only communication between Shameen and the great city of Canton was by means of a wide bridge over the canal, and this was controlled by heavy gates at either

end, always closed at night. As additional precaution, this bridge and the canal, for the whole length of the island, were under control of the guns of different foreign ships, ours being the largest of them all.

Our consul had made the necessary preparations for a visit of ceremony to the Viceroy, which I made under guard of Chinese soldiers. As we passed through the narrow, crowded, filthy streets I was aware of many scowling faces, but beyond this there was no unfriendly demonstration. The Viceroy was most friendly and gracious in his reception, but plainly worried over the situation, yet somewhat relieved, I thought, when I assured him that all foreigners would be amply protected in case of trouble. His anxiety about his own fate was also evident, and the only comfort I could give him on this point was that if he went on board of our ship he would be out of harm's way. Our consul was regarded by the American contingent on Shameen as a person who did not reflect much credit on our government, but every one said, "If you want anything from the Viceroy, the consul can get it." During my interview with him it was apparent to me that the consul had unbounded influence, but why this was so I could not discover. When our consulates were inspected by Mr. Pierce this man was removed and did not succeed in getting himself reinstated, though he used the newspapers widely and brought much political influence to bear on the President.

As the Viceroy was most confident of the loyalty of his troops, I did not see just how there could be any serious trouble unless somebody imported arms for the proposed insurgents. If this importation was stopped,

the uprising would not materialise. Therefore, to stop it was the most important thing. I had heard of viceroys and others high in authority who had been engaged in just this kind of business, so I did not discuss the subject with him, but I did instruct an officer to watch carefully the freight receipts from Hong Kong and to let me know if any considerable number of guns came in and to whom they were consigned. A few weeks later a steamer load of cement in barrels came along. When opened, the barrels were found to contain Mauser rifles, very carefully packed. That particular revolution ended then and there!

Upon my return to Hong Kong, all repair work being completed, I sailed with the assembled vessels for Cavité, where I anchored on December 18th. The passage over was very rough for the smaller ships, but by running at slow speed they managed to escape serious injury.

Long before my arrival the commander of the southern division had been advised of the general nature of the contemplated manœuvres, and had directed all the vessels of his division to be in readiness to move promptly. Above all else, I wanted to know just how fast each ship could steam and how long she could maintain her maximum speed. Commanding officers were directed to report on this point, and when they had done so I was surprised and pleased to hear that the slowest vessel on the station could make eleven knots and keep up that speed for twenty-four hours at least. My feelings can be better imagined than described when I found by actual test that most of them could make about eight knots, and no more!

On the passage from Hong Kong the gunboats Helena and Wilmington had threshed about in the heavy sea which boarded them constantly, threatening to tear their masts out and sweep their upper decks. Passing in through the passage now so famous by Dewey's daring act on a certain May morning, we anchored off the navy yard at Cavité. The American flag was flying over the station; off in the distance we could see it also floating over the forts about the city of Manila. It caused a curious sensation to see our beloved flag displayed over this foreign, tropical city, and I am not sure that I did not feel that it was out of place. However, there it was; it had cost many valuable lives to put it there, and it would cost many more before it could ever come down.

A large number of troops were in and about the city, quartered in such buildings as could be secured, or else under canvas. Others were scattered about the other islands, garrisoning such points as were considered of importance in the general scheme of reducing to order the recently rebellious population and keeping the peace. Among the troops so employed were eight hundred or a thousand officers and men of the United States marine corps, divided into small guards stationed at various points in the country about Manila and Cavité. As the government of the islands had passed into civil hands, these soldiers could not do any military duty unless called upon to do so by some civil officer; they could not, in fact, of their own volition stop the ladrones from stealing cattle in broad daylight and plain sight. The Insurrectos, who, under the leadership of Aguinaldo, had fought our soldiers, were

now changed into ladrones, and must be dealt with by the civil authorities, who in many cases had been leaders under the first named and were in sympathy with the last. It was a condition of affairs requiring great judgment and foresight to prevent serious trouble. Fortunately for us, Governor Taft was at the helm in Manila, and gave to the solution of the problem his untiring energy. As long as the marines could do their proper duty as soldiers, suppress disorder, and prevent robberies, I was perfectly willing to have them so employed, and, indeed, was glad to have them doing such good work. When I found, however, that they were being demoralised by drinking *bino*, and really had no duties to perform, I decided to call them all in, put them in camp under a competent officer, and hold them in readiness for service in China or Korea, where I was sure they would soon be required.

When I had explained the situation to Governor Taft, he agreed with me that the proposed plan should be carried out, and the necessary orders were issued. Then came a protest, signed by many, stating that I was endangering the safety of the peaceful population by taking the marines away. But as I was convinced that most of the so-called peaceful population were, in reality, ladrones, and only wanted the men kept on the stations that they might get as much money out of them as possible, I paid no attention to the protests. A fine camp was established at Olongapo under command of Major Karmany, where the men were kept under strict discipline. They were contented and happy, and a finer lot of soldiers I never saw. When a sudden call came for one hundred men to go to Seoul

they were off in four hours, fully equipped and with ample provisions and ammunition.

Manila, at this time, was not a pleasant place to visit. There was but one hotel, and that very small and ill-kept. Transportation about the city was by means of carriages—poor, dilapidated vehicles, for which one had to pay ridiculously high rates. There were no street-car lines, and the streets were so badly paved that driving about them was no pleasure. If we ventured out of the city, we were likely to be murdered by the natives, who hated us and our rule worse than they ever hated the Spaniards. Our people had done wonders in the way of cleaning and making sanitary the nasty place, but the odours that assailed one on every hand showed how much was still to be done in that line. The officers of the army could and did spend much of their time in the Army and Navy Club, where there was good cheer and comfort, as compared with the rest of the city, but we of the navy were so far away that we could not often enjoy this luxury. We had to remain on board our ships and endure the smells that came from the foul water about us. This water was so full of phosphorus that after bathing in it for a few days in succession we could taste it on our skins, and the smell of it nauseated many. After I had completed my round of official calls I rarely ever visited the city; I was too busily occupied with the duties of the fleet and lived on my flagship. I am, therefore, well posted in the matter of the discomforts officers had to endure. Cholera was raging all over the islands, and provisions were expensive and difficult to obtain. We lived almost entirely from tins which we had brought

with us from Hong Kong. Fortunately we had a refrigerating ship which supplied us with excellent fresh meat from Australia.

To carry out the wishes of the Navy Department as far as possible in the matter of drills, and at the same time keep up the current work of the station, I organised a fleet of twenty vessels in order to secure tactical evolutions of real value. In addition to such tactical work as could be done with this force, I laid out a scheme covering the kind of practical service we might most likely be called upon to render. This contemplated the seizure of an advanced base, with necessary defence—mines and batteries—to protect the fleet against a superior naval force until re-enforcements could arrive from home. Olongapo was designated as the place to be seized, and Subig Bay, in which the fleet would be anchored, the body of water to be held. The general board in Washington had succeeded, after a long struggle, in having a few of the articles necessary for such a movement sent to Cavité, but most of them had to be improvised in the fleet. We had neither mines nor torpedoes, and only a few small guns suitable to mount for the defence of the mine fields after the mines had been planted. However short we might be in material, we, nevertheless, had the desire to do what was required of us. We did the best we could, not only with the tools furnished, but with all those we could make ourselves.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### PRACTICE DRILLS AT SUBIG BAY

THE day after Christmas, 1902, I started from Manila Bay with the fleet of twenty ships to begin our practice. Of all the fleets that ever weighed anchor, this was undoubtedly the most ill-assorted. A twelve-thousand-ton battleship, the Kentucky, my flagship, was at the head of the column; then a cruiser, the New Orleans; then two gunboats, the Helena and Wilmington; then four gunboats of the Vicksburg class; followed by twelve vessels, most of them captured from the Spanish, and to which it would be hard to give names. The last one in the column was a gunboat of about fifty tons! The idea of doing much with such a heterogeneous fleet, in a tactical sense, was out of the question. Their appearance was grotesque. Before we had been steaming one hour the speed had to be reduced to allow some of the smaller ones to keep in position, and before the second hour was completed four or five of them were being towed by the larger gunboats.

In the afternoon we approached the entrance to Subig Bay. The Kentucky manœuvred to cover the smaller vessels as they ran in before a supposed superior naval force. When the last one was safely inside, Captain Stockton planted a double row of mines across the entrance and anchored in position to defend this

mine field until batteries could be erected for that purpose. The handling of my flagship during this manœuvre was such as to bring from all who saw it unstinted praise. Captain Stockton showed his ability as an able and accomplished seaman. In less than one hour both entrances to the bay were so mined that an enemy would not attempt to force an entrance until a channel had been cleared by exploding or removing a number of the mines. To prevent this until the shore batteries had been constructed was the business of the fleet; and to it we bent our energies.

Grande Island, at the entrance to the bay, was the key to the position. Behind the high points of this island, and protected by them from the fire of the enemy's ships, I anchored enough ships to keep boats from successfully countermining. The boats of all the ships, except the guardships, attempted every night to destroy the mines. Umpires were appointed and rules published, so that these attacks might be as realistic as possible.

If a boat was detected approaching the mine field, or while actually on it, the guardship opened fire, using blank cartridges, of course, and discharged a red rocket as a signal to the boat that she was discovered. The boat must then fire a green rocket and withdraw. Search lights were, of course, in constant use. If any boat succeeded in remaining undiscovered on the mine field for five minutes, she was to fire a red rocket, plant a countermine with a buoy bearing the name of the ship to which she belonged, and then withdraw. The attacks were well planned and intelligently carried out, but were successful in only two cases that I now recall.

One of the vessels fitted out a boat with khaki-coloured canvas, and with this a party crept onto the mine field undiscovered and planted their buoy.

In the other case a midshipman, with two companions, swam out, towing a small raft containing the countermine, and planted his buoy without detection. The water was full of man-eating sharks, and, as I knew the mother of the midshipman, I issued orders that the swimming mode of attack would be discontinued! A week of this exercise showed wonderful ingenuity on the part of the officers and men; it also convinced me that a properly laid mine field, if defended by guns, would prove very troublesome to an enemy, but without the defending guns the mines would amount to nothing.

In the meantime the batteries for Grande Island had been constructed and the guns placed in position and manned by a detachment of marines commanded by Major Karmany. Camp Evans was established in the rear of the main battery, where the marines, living under service conditions, were most efficient in the performance of their duties. The officers and crews of the Vicksburg and Annapolis showed most commendable zeal, worked all night, or in the blazing tropical sun, until the four-inch guns of their ships were on the beach. Not content with this, they helped the marines to cut roads through the undergrowth, drag the guns nearly half a mile, and place them in position. The platforms for the guns were made of heavy timber at the Cavité Naval Station, so arranged that they could be taken apart, transported to the place where they were to be used, and there assembled. After the bat-

teries were completed, which was done in wonderfully quick time, I ordered them to have target practice, and, to the surprise of every one, no sign of weakness developed, though regular service ammunition was used. Four batteries were constructed and thus tested; two of them had four-inch guns and two were six-pounders. In every respect the work was well done and the practice most beneficial to officers and men. At the end of ten days the guns were dismounted and returned to their ships, and this part of the manœuvres was concluded.

On the way back to Manila a few fleet movements were attempted, but I was soon convinced that no good results could be secured in this way; the ships were too dissimilar to work together, and the officers had not had sufficient practice in preliminary drills. It was like trying to learn arithmetic without knowing the multiplication table, so I determined to go back and learn the multiplication table first.

Having selected six ships that could be made to work reasonably well together, I drilled them pretty constantly. Each morning we would get under way while it was yet cool, proceed to a safe distance from shore, spend the day manœuvring, and at night anchor with the fleet. Satisfied that this was the kind of training we needed, and that as much good as possible might follow, I detailed the captains one after another to command this drill fleet, thus giving them valuable experience. One may read and study about handling ships, which is no doubt a good thing to do, but the way—the real way—to learn it is actually to handle the ships under way at sea.

As the time approached for our target practice, a fine range was laid out in the bay well clear of the shipping. Targets were prepared at the naval station ready for use, and officers and men gave their undivided attention preparing to make a record. When the Kentucky and the New Orleans had fired we were satisfied of two things: first, that the guns would hit the target when properly aimed; second, that the new sights we had installed furnished the means by which we could do so. The rapidity of fire had been wonderfully increased as a result of the ping-pong practice and the use of the loading machine, but there was room yet for great improvement. The Merritt sight which had been fitted to one of the turret guns of the Kentucky gave such good results that I ordered it fitted for all turret guns. I also ordered high-power telescopes for all broadside guns not already so fitted.

The time had now arrived to test the torpedo-boat question—to see if a torpedo boat could get near enough to a battleship to discharge a torpedo with a fair chance of hitting her. The target I had ordered built was ready, and fairly represented a section of a torpedo boat coming bows on. A powerful tug boat, capable of steaming seventeen knots, was detailed to tow this target, which was fitted with a towline of sufficient length to avoid the probability of accident. The officer who was to do the towing was directed to get under way, get out of sight, and at night, between the hours of ten and twelve, find the Kentucky and tow the target at her as nearly as possible at right angles. This was to simulate a torpedo boat running at the beam of the ship. As soon as it was dark the Kentucky weighed

anchor, stood out into the bay, and began using her search lights to pick up the tug or the target.

The night was ideal for the attack—drizzling rain, stiff breeze, and some mist. When discovered, the five-inch guns of the ship were to fire, but for thirty seconds only, and then the target would be examined for hits. About a quarter of eleven the smoke of the tug showed up under the beams of the search light, and a few minutes later a low, white line was detected on the water. This was recognised as the bow wave of the torpedo boat, or target, and two range shots were fired—one struck short and the other over—which gave us the range. The signal to open fire was then given. Strict silence reigned on the ship, except for the rapid firing of the guns. Every man was at his station, and all were keenly alert. It was very like the real thing and most exciting. I was watching the target, the outlines of which were barely visible when the firing began, and at the second shot I saw it list over to one side and then quickly right itself. One shot at least had certainly struck it. My order to the guns was to make a zone of fire in front of the target so perfect that nothing could get through without being struck. They certainly did this! At the end of thirty seconds the signal "Cease firing" was given, the Kentucky returned to her anchorage, and the men were given their hammocks; but no one turned in. The desire to see what they had done to the target was so great that they stood about in the drizzling rain until it was towed alongside, where they could have a good look at it under the rays of the search light. A brief inspection showed that *six* five-inch shells had passed completely

through the boat, any one of which would have put a torpedo boat out of business.

The test had been most practical and thorough, and gave great confidence to the gunners and little comfort to the champions of the torpedo. It showed to me clearly that a battleship, properly drilled, whose gunners could shoot fast and straight, was in little danger from an attack of this character.

About this time the French were building a number of submarines, and the advocates of this new weapon were claiming all sorts of things for it. They claimed at first that they could destroy a whole fleet every night, if anybody would supply the fleet! When it became evident that they could not find the ships after dark, they claimed that they could do the same trick by daylight, without danger to the submarine, as they could come to the surface (the periscope had not then been adopted), locate the ship, and again disappear in thirty seconds. This was too short a time, however, for a ship to use her guns.

To see what was practical in this purely theoretical claim, I determined to have a thorough test. For this purpose I ordered a diving target made—one that could be made to behave much like a submarine boat. The officer in command of the naval station at Cavité, Captain Couden, was a very clever mechanic, and he produced a target which was both amusing and serviceable. A float carried the exact counterpart of the conning tower of a submarine. The lines by which it was to be towed were so arranged that by slacking one of them the float would dive and remain under water until this line was again hauled on and tautened, when it would

quickly come to the surface. After there had been plenty of practice with this device to ensure its proper working, it was towed at the Kentucky and fired at for twenty seconds with the six-pounder guns of one broadside. At the third shot splinters flew into the air, and the target, when brought alongside, was found to be practically destroyed, the whole part representing the conning tower being shot away. Since that time great improvements have been made, and submarines have taken their place as a recognised weapon in warfare. They will certainly make timid commanders very miserable in time of war; but that they will be a serious threat to a fleet at sea I do not for a moment concede. They may, like the dreaded banana peel, occasionally hurt something by accident, but that will be all.

Conditions were such at the time of which I am writing that the army operating in the southern islands against the Moros was constantly asking for the assistance of the navy. We were willing, even anxious, to do all in our power to help our brother officers of the army in the thankless job they had on hand, but one thing stood seriously in the way of effective co-operation—our charts were old, in most cases so inaccurate as to endanger vessels using them. Only by a thorough and systematic survey could this be remedied. I had the officers and men for the work, the necessary instruments, and gunboats which were fine vessels for the purpose. Among the officers available was Commander Hughes, who had done valuable work for the coast survey at home, and was in every way fitted for the job I had in mind. Six gunboats were detailed for the purpose and ordered to report to him for duty. In a very

short time he had everything in readiness, and the expedition sailed. I had selected the water in which we were likely to be called upon to operate as the first to be surveyed. Much of it was in the vicinity of Mindanao and Joló, where the natives were turbulent and likely to give trouble. In order to avoid as far as possible any difficulty with these people, the commanding officers of the surveying vessels were directed to visit the Datos, or chiefs, before landing men to erect signals, and to explain to them fully what we were going to do: that these surveys were necessary to ensure the safety of the naval vessels that had to communicate with them, and that they would, in the end, increase their trade and commerce.

Everything went well with my surveying expedition until Commander Hughes, in the Annapolis, struck an uncharted reef and remained there for ten days before we could get him off. This accident showed clearly the necessity for the work, and I ordered it pressed with vigour. The captain of one of the very small gunboats —she carried only fifty men all told—communicated with a chief in the vicinity of Joló, explained what he wanted, and was granted permission to erect his signals. This was done with great labour, as all material had to be carried on shore in small boats and then taken on the shoulders of the men through the tropical jungle to the site selected. These sights were always on high, prominent points, and to reach them in the broiling sun was not easy. The next morning two of the signals had been torn down, and a midshipman with a party of men was sent on shore to see what the trouble was. When the party had been gone some

hours the commanding officer went himself with an armed boat's crew to look after them. He found them surrounded by two or three hundred Moros, who were preparing to cut them up with bolos. A Gatling gun soon settled the difficulty, and the chief replaced the signals. Both he and his followers were warned that those signals were the property of the United States, and that if they were molested again somebody would get hurt.

This expedition was undertaken with the approval of Governor Taft, who plainly saw the necessity for it. My surprise can be imagined when I was accused by the press of starting a war with the Moros! In reply I stated what I had done, and added that if this was to produce a war, I could see no better cause for one. If an officer of the navy could not survey waters belonging to the United States in order to secure safe navigation for his ships, I thought the sooner we whipped those holding that view the better. The work went on without serious trouble, though I believe the Moros did make it an excuse for killing some of our men, for which act they were severely punished.

The survey was only partially completed when orders came from Washington to stop it; not that the Navy Department objected to the survey, but because they wished the vessels kept together for fleet work. The official letter I received on the subject was a severe condemnation of my course; and it ordered fleet drills for all the vessels. Later, when they understood how impossible this was, what an absolute waste of time, they relented somewhat, and directed me to use my discretion in such matters, which was just what I had

done, and all I had done, in this instance. Swivel chairs sometimes have the effect of warping the judgment of those that occupy them.

One very curious and interesting thing resulted from this survey. The officer sent to work among the Tawi-Tawi Islands, the most southern of the group, not knowing the exact boundary of our possessions, obtained from the army officer in command a chart showing just where this boundary line ran. As the work progressed he found a number of small islands, not belonging to us or to anybody else—a sort of no-man's land, as it were. They were between our line and the coast of Borneo—excellent places for pirates to assemble, or from which persons so disposed could sell arms to our peace-loving "little brown brothers" in that part of the world. When this was reported to me, I at once applied to General George W. Davis, U. S. A., then in command of the Military Department of the Philippines, for his opinion. He was, by all odds, the best-posted man in all the islands as to our rights under Spanish treaties, and his able administration of his department gave a weight to his opinion which would be regarded in Washington. He agreed with me entirely that we owned every island outside the three-mile limit from the coast of Borneo, and I embodied this opinion in my report to Washington. The President finally ordered that the line be drawn as suggested, which was done, and the chart, so marked, supplied to all who were interested. Later I sent a gunboat and had our flag hoisted on all the islands in the disputed belt. The poor inhabitants were glad to know at last to whom they really belonged.

In January of this year Rear-Admiral Cooper, an officer of recognised ability, great energy, and exceptional executive qualities, was ordered to command the southern division. When he came I received the warm support I had expected of him, and our great success at target practice and the general efficiency of the fleet was due in great measure to his loyal support. The Navy Department had ordered two more battleships to the station, and one of them, the Wisconsin, was assigned as his flagship when he later became commander of the northern division.

It was curious, at this early day, to observe the feeling of distrust which the Filipinos entertained for us. It afterwards grew into positive hatred, until to-day many of them do not hesitate to say they would be glad to have the Spaniards back in our stead. It cannot be pleasant or conducive to friendly feeling to be constantly compared with others, always to our disadvantage; and this was what these people had to put up with all the time. We did not make the comparison; they did themselves, sometimes, I suppose, unconsciously. The first thing they saw in the morning, when they looked out into the street, was a company or a file of American soldiers, fine, stalwart fellows, swinging along with an air that made their own men look small and insignificant. Then came, perhaps, a six-mule American army wagon, the driver a negro, tall and muscular, capable of taking one of their own carts —horse, driver, and all—on his shoulders and walking off with it; then probably a fine American carriage would come dashing by, drawn by large, spirited horses, with the well-dressed wife of some officer or

official reclining in it, and this vehicle was unconsciously compared with their own wretched vehicles and animals. Everything belonging to the newcomers was larger and finer and better than what they had, and, above all, they were a *dependent race!* How could anything but ill-feeling and jealousy come from such a condition?

A man of position in Manila once said to me that his people disliked the Americans more than they had the Spaniards. As he had been so frank with me, I asked him if he would not tell me why this was so, and he did. He explained that he had long been a merchant in Manila, and was still in business; that in Spanish days when a shipment of goods came he could, by paying a small amount to some customs officer, get his goods entered, while his competitors had to pay the full amount of duty. Now, he said, this was changed, and he had to pay his duty as others did, which deprived him of the advantage he had enjoyed. I indicated in a few words what I thought of his reasoning, whereupon he went further. He claimed that we employed more officials than the Spaniards had, paid them higher salaries, and thus increased the tax rate. I thought it time to say something for our side, and asked him if he did not know that we had provided a fine water supply for the city, thus preventing the awful scourge of cholera, which had killed so many people. He admitted that we had, but claimed that his people did not fear the cholera, and if we did not want to get it, all we had to do was to stay away; that the former system of water supply suited them. I asked him if he would not admit that we had paved and cleaned the city, cut

through the old walls, and let in air and light, thus improving the sanitary conditions. He admitted that we had done these things, but not with the consent of the people, who were satisfied with things as they stood, and did not want any of our new sanitary methods and improvements. One could not argue with such a fool. He, no doubt, represented a large class who were in a position to influence the feelings of the people. Education will in time remedy all this. If it does not, bullets and bayonets, I know, will.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE SOUTHERN ISLANDS OF THE PHILIPPINES

THE change from military to civil government had been made with very little friction, owing to the judgment and ability of Mr. Taft, the civil governor. In other hands than his the transfer might have been difficult and vexatious. It was only natural that the officers of the military branch should feel that it would have been better policy to let them govern, at least for a time, the people they had lately fought to a standstill. This feeling still prevails, and is shared by many outside the military service.

The newly appointed civil government seemed to feel that it should treat the military element with all the severity it would stand. This was particularly the case in the punishment of soldiers who committed offences. In some cases the judges who awarded punishment were men who had served under Aguinaldo in the recent revolution. The new collector of customs was a veritable "new broom," and swept so clean that he imposed and collected duties from officers of the army for their swords and uniforms, unless they actually wore them at the time of landing. One can easily imagine the feeling thus produced among men who were to defend this government with the very swords on which they were paying duty. They could, and did,

stand the tropical sun, the torrents of rain, and other hardships without a word of complaint, but they swore like troopers over the duty on their swords! And who can blame them?

We were fortunate in the navy that we did not come in contact generally with these customs people. We had our own station where our vessels remained, and, as we did not have to land outside our own jurisdiction, we were not subjected to the same annoyances as our brother officers of the army. One attempt was made by the collector to regulate the affairs of people on a naval transport, but he was not encouraged by the result, and afterwards gave us no trouble. I told him plainly that no vessel in commission under my command could be searched or hindered in her movements except by my orders or the orders of some superior; that I had only two superiors—the President and the Secretary of the Navy—and that he must show me orders from one or the other before he could do anything to one of the ships of the fleet. If any attempt was made to land anything contrary to law, he could seize the articles so landed, and I would see to it that the offenders were severely punished. But the idea of an insular official of the customs branch claiming the right to place a guard on a United States transport in the naval service, commanded by a naval officer, made me a bit hot. It was certainly the tail wagging the dog.

The energy of this newly created Customs Department of the Philippine civil government cost the Navy Department quite a sum of money; and of one instance I had personal knowledge. During the time of military government a contract had been made by the Navy

Department for the construction of a coaling plant at Sangley Point, Cavité. This contract contained a provision, by consent of the War Department, that the contractor should have the right to bring in, free of duty, in the vessels carrying the material for the station, food for his employees. Before the plant was half completed the form of government was changed from military to civil, and the new collector of customs began to sweep with his new broom. In the absence of the commander-in-chief, my predecessor, a vessel arrived for the contractor. A customs guard was placed on board, who would not permit anything to be landed or used until duty was paid.

When I arrived at Cavité the contractor reported the case to me, stating that he was well satisfied with the situation, as it permitted him to make an extra charge for the work, because the government had violated its contract. After reading the contract carefully, I appealed to the civil authorities, stating the conditions that were being violated. At best it was only taking money out of one pocket and putting it in another. The civil authorities sustained the collector in his position, and the work stopped for several months until my report could reach Washington, when, after a consultation with the War Department, the necessary orders were issued, and the work again progressed. That changing the form of government of these islands could possibly justify the breaking of a contract by one of the parties to it, and that party the government itself, seemed to me an absurd proposition. However, the Navy Department paid well over a hundred thousand dollars to find it out.

If the collector of customs had devised some plan to prevent the building of this coaling plant at Sangley Point, he would have saved the United States a large sum and rendered a great service to the navy. As it stands now, it represents as foolish a waste of public money as one can imagine. The water about this plant is so shoal that nothing but small gunboats can approach nearer than a mile and a half, and in case of war it is open to the fire of any vessel wishing to destroy it. Colliers have to land half their cargoes before they can get to it, and all coal for vessels must be taken off in lighters. In other words, the coal must all be handled twice.

With all our vexations at Manila, however, there was one thing, and only one, I believe, that met with universal approbation. All hands, military and civil, agreed on the fine properties of the Philippine mango! This excellent fruit ripened while we were there, and we all agreed that for a breakfast dish it was the best yet found. Peaches are good, Rocky Ford melons delicious, but they don't compare with a fine, ripe, golden-coloured mango. The natives try to force them into the market by firing the trees, and thus prematurely ripening the fruit—a process, of course, which does not produce good results. You only get the genuine article when it is allowed to ripen naturally.

The projected manœuvres, target practice, etc., having been completed and full reports made to the Navy Department, I transferred my flag temporarily to the naval transport Zafiro and, with my staff, started on a trip through the southern islands of the Philippine group, that I might know from personal observation

the exact conditions. The Kentucky was ordered to proceed to Labuan, Borneo, where I was to rejoin her. We sailed from Manila on the 8th of February, and touched at the following points, all of which were garrisoned by small bodies of United States soldiers or marines: Catbalogan, Tacloban, Cebú, Zamboanga, Isabela, Malabang, Polloc, Cottabato, Joló, Siassi, Bongao Island, and Tumindao Island. Then we crossed over to Borneo. At most of these points the soldiers were constantly employed guarding those who wished to conduct legitimate business against the attacks of the ladrones, or robbers, who seemed to infest the whole country.

At Zamboanga an old friend, General S. S. Sumner, U. S. A., commanding the Department of Mindanao, joined me with his aide, Captain Morrow, U. S. A. They remained with the party until we reached Joló, showing us the various army posts on the route.

At Malabang we transferred to a small gunboat, in which we crossed the bar at the mouth of the Rio Grande and prepared for a trip to Camp Vickars, on Lake Linao, where our army held its advanced post facing the fortified lines of the Moros. The Rio Grande flows through a beautiful, fertile valley, in appearance not unlike the valley of the Mississippi, capable of producing enormous quantities of sugar-cane and other products if reliable labour could be secured. On the way up the river, in which the current was very strong, the crocodiles floated lazily about, like great tree trunks, warning us that a fall into the muddy stream would be fatal. Families of monkeys played about the banks, old gray-haired grandfathers and

grandmothers, with their descendants, who grinned and chattered at us as we passed. They were careful to keep far enough from the water to avoid the tails of the crocodiles; if they ventured too near, one stroke of the long, strong tail of the reptile was enough to secure his meal of monkey meat. Many of the native children, I was told, lost their lives in this way. It was surprising to see how far out over the bank a crocodile could strike, and always with fatal results.

The army post at Malabang was beautifully located, near one of the finest springs I have ever seen. Shacks had been erected for the officers and their families, and for the families of those officers who were serving at the front. No women or children were permitted to go beyond Malabang; and as cholera was prevalent in all the advanced camps, the anxiety of those left behind was painful to see. But the wives stood up to their work as American women always do, with smiling faces, and did what was possible to help their husbands, who might at any moment be brought in on stretchers, wounded by Moro bolos, or dead of the cholera. I have always been proud of my countrymen—never more so than when I saw the sacrifices they were making in this God-forsaken tropical country.

General Sumner had a four-mule ambulance in readiness for our trip to Camp Vickars, and, with a strong cavalry escort, we started in the cool of the morning—cool only by comparison, for as I sat with an army rifle across my lap ready for use I was sure I had never encountered more stifling heat. The road we followed was a fine one—a monument to the soldiers who had cut and made it through the tropical jungle,

where at times it required all day for two men to cut down one of the hard-wood trees. To give the men some chance to defend themselves against a rush of the savage Moros, with their heavy bolos, the road had been cut two hundred feet wide. Up and up we climbed, always in a cloud of dust, our keen escort always on the alert and our guns ready for instant use, while the monkeys scampered about grinning and chattering at us, until we reached an elevation of about two thousand feet, when the jungle grew perceptibly thinner and at four thousand feet we found ourselves in what looked like a farming section of Pennsylvania.

Still following the military road, we came to a camp of soldiers—two companies of infantry, holding a strategic point where some so-called friendly Moros were quiet for the time. We rested in this camp for half an hour, had a drink and a sandwich with the officers, and then pressed on to Camp Vickars, where we arrived early in the afternoon, dust-covered and almost melted with the heat. When we had cooled off a bit and got rid of the dirt, we had a look at the camp and its surroundings.

Fort Vickars, after which the camp was named, was near by. It was here that Dr. Vickars was killed, a year before, and his name was given to the fort. When the attack was made, the infantry grew impatient, feeling that they could carry the work without waiting for the artillery to shell it. A charge was ordered, and it was only when a number of men had fallen in and been impaled that a wide ditch was discovered running around the fort, hidden somewhat by

brush and grass, and filled with sharpened bamboos. A number of officers and men were killed before the order was given to fall back a short distance and bivouac for the night. In the early morning five or six cavalry soldiers were standing in a group about one hundred and fifty yards from the fort, smoking their pipes, when a Moro was seen to pass the gate. He was a tall, fine-looking, muscular black, and carried a kriss (Malay sword) in his hand. He ran straight for the group of cavalrymen, and they began firing with their carbines. He finally reached them, and had cut one of them severely, when he was struck on the head with a clubbed gun and killed. He had five bullets through his lungs and the upper part of his body, and yet was able to close in and fight. This instance shows the wonderful vitality of these savages. The sword he carried was given to me before I left the camp, and is now in my Washington home.

Looking across Lake Linao, which, four thousand feet above sea level, is as beautiful as any lake in Switzerland, I could distinctly see the Moros on the other shore working like beavers on the forts they were erecting to prevent the further advance of our army. How I did wish for a couple of six-inch guns and permission to use them! Of course the army could have run over these forts and captured them any day with the loss of a very few men, but they were not permitted to do it—they must fight only when actually attacked. After waiting in the hot sun, fighting the cholera a long time, the expected attack came. The Moros had completed their defences, and the army had the satisfaction of marching around the lake, knocking down the forts,

and sending a good many Moros to their last account—making good Moros of them, so to speak.

Captain Pershing, of the cavalry, was in command at Fort Vickars, and I can't imagine a man better fitted for the post. Young, active, and as tough as leather, he spoke the Moro tongue, and impressed all who saw him most favourably. He certainly won the stars that afterwards came to him. If they could have been given to him without the seeming injustice to those over whom he was jumped, it might have been better. That, however, is a question for the lawmakers. The command at Fort Vickars consisted of about three thousand officers and men—artillery, cavalry, and infantry; and a finer lot of men never served under any flag. Captain Pershing had them formed for review, and, in company with General Sumner, I walked down the line, looked each man squarely in the eyes, and formed my estimate of them. There was not a mean-looking man in the command. They were brown, sunburned, honest, young Americans, tough as nails, ready to give their lives for their country. Only three thousand of them were facing the thirty thousand savage Moros, convinced that they could whip them, and ready to do it when the order came. As sunset approached I stood and watched the men marching to the outposts, some half mile from camp, where they were to spend the night guarding those who slept, and I wondered how many of them would be dead before sunrise of to-morrow. Only a few days before our arrival an outpost had been cut up, all the men—three or four—killed, and their guns secured. Firearms were what the Moros wanted. If one carried none, he could go among them with com-

parative safety, even though he carried a considerable sum of money; but any one carrying a gun they would murder on sight for the sake of getting the gun.

A tent had been pitched for me on the edge of the camp, near the officers' tents, and here I passed a most comfortable night. After dining with the officers, I retired at about midnight. Captain Pershing had assigned me as my orderly a fine soldier, a sergeant of infantry, who took pity on my want of knowledge about camping and showed me how to dispose my blankets to protect me from the cold. This became quite marked in the middle of the night on account of the altitude, though we were only three degrees north of the equator. I had noticed several bullet holes through the side of the tent, and asked my orderly what they were.

"Don't mind them, sir. The Moros shoot at the tents at night, sir; but they won't hit you, sir!"

While I was trying to acquire the confidence expressed by my orderly I must have fallen asleep, for the next thing I knew it was daylight and the bugles were sounding the reveille.

After a delightful visit with our army friends, we returned to the Zafiro to continue our cruise. I could not help thinking—I have since had no reason to change my mind—that the Moro problem is much harder to solve than the race question in our southern states. Dr. Booker T. Washington has indicated a solution of the negro question; but no one, as far as I know, has suggested any method by which we can make anything out of a Moro unless he is killed, and then he is of no value. Of course we must rescue these people

from their present state, and no doubt we shall, but the means by which it is to be done are as yet unknown.

Our return to Malabang was uneventful. We sat with guns ready if the Moros came, sweltering in the great heat, breathing in the dust with which the air was charged. As we crossed the bar to join the Zafiro, we passed a large tramp steamer chartered by the government to convey to the United States the bodies of our soldiers who had been killed or had died in the islands. It was certainly a mournful sight. On the sandy beach was a huge pile of caskets, into which the remains were being transferred, while others were being hoisted on board.

The Spaniards during their occupation of the Philippines had maintained two small naval stations among the southern islands for the repair of their gunboats, which were constantly engaged in warfare against the Moros and other tribes. One was at Isabel de Basilan, the other at Polloc. The first of these was in charge of a guard of fifty marines, who did all that was possible to keep it in good order, but as there was no money for the purpose it had gradually run down, and was in woeful condition when I inspected it. Most of the buildings were tumbling down or unsafe for quarters, and officers and men were under canvas. All the machine shops had been gutted or their contents destroyed, so that it was impossible to make the smallest repairs with what was left. It was desirable to have a repair station for our small vessels somewhere among the islands, rather than to send them all the way back to Cavité for such work, but without funds this

was impossible. A full report was sent to Washington, and that was the end of it. I never heard of it again.

Polloc I found in better condition, but far from what I had hoped for. There was a small marine railway which could be used and several machine shops with good tools, but no boiler or other means by which they could be used. Afterwards I found an old boiler at Cavité, sent it to Polloc, had it installed, and some good work was done at the station.

An instance which shows the wonderful vitality of the Moro occurred at Polloc. A band of cattle thieves had located themselves twenty or thirty miles from the station, and were causing great excitement among the people. When the proper time came, the marines were sent after them, surrounded them, and brought the whole gang into Polloc. The leader, a short, wiry, black desperado, about five feet two inches tall, was confined in the marine guard-house to await trial. Some one carelessly left a bolo where the Moro could get his hands on it, and, watching his opportunity, he seized it and attacked the guard. The marine sentry opened fire at once as the man came toward him, and his first shot struck him on the chin and smashed his jawbone on one side. As he continued to advance, the sentry fired a second shot, which went straight through his lungs and out at his back. Then the desperado turned and started to run, when he was brought to earth by the third shot, which struck at the base of the skull and passed out over the right eye. Every one supposed that he was a "good" Moro at last, but the doctors found life in him, patched him up, and treated him in

the hospital. Just *three weeks* after the shooting I had him taken out of the guard-house, where he was confined in irons, to have him photographed. He thought I was going to hang him, and he trembled so violently that it was difficult to get a good picture of him. His face was a bit out of shape on one side, a small blue spot over his eye showed where shot No. 3 had come out, and two more such spots, one on his chest and the other between the shoulder blades, showed the course of shot No. 2. Apparently no damage had been done the rascal, as he seemed active and hearty. I was anxious, of course, to try him by court-martial, so that he might have some real punishment, but my instructions were positive and prevented me from doing so. He was turned over to the civil authorities, who tried him, and, I afterwards learned, gave him a couple of years in jail! Any one of the three shots he received would have disabled a white man, and two of them would probably have proved fatal.

After completing the inspection of Polloc, I ran down to visit Joló, in the Sulu group, where we had a large garrison, and also to land General Sumner and his aide. Here, as the Moros were disposed to make trouble on the least provocation, the troops had to be confined pretty closely to the barracks. The Sultan of Sulu claimed the whole country as his, and was not disposed to acknowledge the authority of the United States, or any one else, for that matter. He was defiant, quarrelsome, and ready to fight on the least provocation. He had often beaten the Spanish soldiers sent against him, and he was confident he could do the same to the Americans whenever they would give him the

chance. When the time finally came he discovered his mistake.

One of the playful habits of these particular savages was that of "running amuck." A warrior would become "huramentado," as they called it—crazy for blood. He would charge into a crowd, slashing right and left with his long knife, and would continue this amusement until some one either killed him or held him until he was bound. Frequently men, women, and even children were killed in this way. Sometimes one of these crazy fanatics would run amuck among our soldiers, but he generally selected those who were not armed, though on one occasion, I was told, a Sulu Moro, "huramentado," actually charged into the midst of a company of infantry and cut down several men before he was persuaded to be good.

Cholera was raging all about Joló at the time of my visit, which, added to the peculiar characteristics of the natives, made it anything but a pleasant place to live in! Yet, with it all, the officers and their wives wore pleasant faces, and did their duty without a whimper. I shall always recall with pleasure the charming dinner I enjoyed at the house of Colonel Wallace, of the cavalry, who commanded the post. It was prepared by his wife, and came almost entirely from tins, but it was the best dinner I had in the Philippines.

From Joló we ran down through the Tawi-Tawi group, stopping at Siassi and Bungao. The former, a two-company post, was beautifully located in a grove of ihlang ihlang trees, the perfume from the flowers of which we could perceive several miles at sea. Two married officers were at this station, their splendid

wives with them, calmly facing the dangers of savages and climate. Bungao was the southern post of all, and was important because it had been the port for smugglers to operate from, and also because of its proximity to the coast of Borneo. The natives, at least the few of them I saw, were very black, and seemed less intelligent than those farther north. They lived on fish or fruit, which grew in great profusion everywhere, and on yams, which they cultivated in small quantities. As a rule, they were peaceful, and carried on trade with the neighbouring islands and Borneo, exchanging their grass mats for tobacco, tea, and rum. In two days I saw all I wanted of this one of our tropical possessions, and I put to sea and ran over to the coast of British North Borneo.

## CHAPTER XX

### FROM SINGAPORE TO TIENTSIN

We arrived at Sandaken the following day, exchanged salutes with the fort, called on the governor, were most cordially received by him, and I dined with him that evening. Many of the small islands lying off the coast had belonged to Borneo—at least they had been supposed to under the treaty of Paris, by which the Philippines had come into our possession. Now that we had them all, the officials of Borneo were watching with great interest to see the results of our efforts at colonisation, so different in every respect from their own. They were old at the business, and we were absolutely new. It was plain to me, during the dinner, that our methods did not meet the entire approval of the English officials, and I was deeply interested in their comments. Many of the things they foresaw came to pass afterwards, which is not to be wondered at when one considers the experience that they had had with exactly the same kind of people we were experimenting with.

North Borneo furnished a great quantity of fine building lumber, used all over the East except by us. Ours came from Oregon, and was very expensive. One object of my visit to Sandaken was to look into this lumber question. We had in the Philippines vast for-

ests of hard woods of various kinds, but none that we could use for building purposes, and no soft wood that the white ants would not destroy in a year. If the hard wood could be converted into lumber and brought into market, it would answer the purpose admirably, although it did seem extravagant to build houses of ebony. But, beautiful as all these hard woods were, they were destined to remain on the stump for a long time. It required two things to move them, capital and labour. Capital could be had, for large profits were assured; but the labour was simply unattainable. The Philippines could not furnish it, and those who could, the Chinese, were not permitted to enter. All the timber about the seashore, or near it, had been used; that along the rivers, of which there was an endless supply, was difficult to market. It was too heavy to float when cut, and had to be rafted out on bamboo rafts. Some day it will become valuable, when, like coal mining and other industries, labour can be found to work it.

We had hopes, at the time of which I am writing, that Congress would authorise a fine naval base at Olongapo, in Subig Bay, and I wanted to be in position to get good lumber at reasonable prices for the construction work. All my work was for nothing, however, as we are as far from a naval base in the East as we were then.

Several companies at Sandaken, operating sawmills, were prepared to furnish lumber of any kind and quality, but, owing to the fact that they were compelled to raft and tow their logs to the mills, their prices were high. At Jesselton, on the west coast of Borneo, a reliable company was prepared to furnish what we

wanted at most reasonable rates, owing to the fact that they ran a road into the jungle, felled the trees, and, with a portable sawmill, converted them into lumber, which they hauled back over the road to a shipping point. As the trees were exhausted the road was extended back into the jungle, thus securing an ample supply. This company was prepared to make a contract with us to supply lumber and piling guaranteed to withstand the attacks of white ants, teredo, and other wood-destroying insects so troublesome and destructive in the tropics. A long report, covering all these facts, was sent to the Navy Department, where it has, no doubt, quietly rested in some dusty pigeonhole ever since.

Leaving Sandaken in the Zafiro, we made our way through a network of shoals and reefs to Victoria, Labuan, the home of that wonderful man, Rajah Brooke, who may be fairly said to have made British North Borneo the rich, producing country it is. His treatment of the natives and his success with them are an example of what a well-equipped white man can do with a dependent race of people. I was most courteously received by all the officers, who gave me any information I sought in the most friendly way. After a delightful visit of four days, I joined the Kentucky and sailed for Singapore, where we arrived during the latter part of March. It had been my intention to visit Saigon at this time; but, finding it impossible to do so, I sent the New Orleans there, with orders to join me later at Hong Kong.

Singapore is to me one of the best places in the East for a man-of-war to visit. The climate is very

hot, but the nights are always cool. The city has many attractions for enlisted men, as well as for officers, and the police see that the men are not abused or cheated. The health authorities never ask for a bill of health, because, having about every disease known themselves, they are not afraid of what may be brought them!

When the official calls had been made, I accepted the invitation of the governor for myself and flag lieutenant to enjoy the hospitality of Government House during our stay in port. The Kentucky was coaling, the hotels were crowded, and this invitation assured me a most comfortable rest. The governor, Sir Frank A. Swettenham, had grown up in the Indian service, and at the time of my visit, though still a young man, was governor of the Straits Settlements, a most important and responsible position. I shall never forget his courtesy to me during the days I spent under his roof enjoying his gracious hospitality. Singapore was noted, among other things, for the excellence of its curry, a dish of which I am very fond. I have eaten it in all parts of the world—curried meat, curried eggs, curried fish, and curried vegetables—but one taste of it at Sir Frank's table satisfied me that I had never before enjoyed the real article. It was so good that I find it impossible to describe it. I asked that my cook from the Kentucky might see it prepared, and was surprised when I learned that it took three native Indians two days to get a dish of it ready to serve. I have never enjoyed a visit elsewhere as much as I did this one to Government House, Singapore, and I left the harbour with great regret.

After leaving Singapore we ran up to Hong Kong,

where we found the Oregon, the New Orleans, and the Helena. The plague was raging with such violence that I deemed it prudent to remain only a short time. The Navy Department was anxious about a coaling station at Amoy, and to give them the information they desired I proceeded with the squadron to that port. On investigation I found that our vice-consul had leased a piece of land from the Chinese owners and proposed to make it pay a good return by inducing the Navy Department to establish on it a coaling station. He was doomed to disappointment, however, as the board of officers ordered to survey the land and report on its fitness for the purpose decided that it was not a desirable place for a coaling plant. The offer of the whole harbour for nothing having been declined, it was now proposed by some one, probably the vice-consul, that we should pay a round sum for a small part of an out-of-the-way rocky island!

After completing the work at Amoy, I stood up the coast, exercising constantly at tactical drills, anchored in a dense fog for three days off the mouth of the Yangtze, and then continued on to Nagasaki, where I found a large Russian squadron assembled. Cholera was raging, but the Russians did not seem to mind that; they were watching the Japanese making a demonstration to show how strong they were on the water. It was only a short time before they found out how futile their mission had been—that the Japanese actually laughed at Russian sea power. There was a young Prince on the Russian flagship; on his staff were intelligent officers of experience. Why they did not see, as the rest of us did, that war was inevitable and almost

upon them was more than I could understand. Every Russian officer I met made the same grave mistake; they all underrated their enemy, and believed that Japan was afraid to go to war with them. The preparations for war were so evident and so earnest that any reasonably intelligent observer should have seen them. The crowded condition of the harbour, added to the danger from cholera, made our visit a short one, and we continued on to Yokohama, where we arrived during the latter part of April.

It was now time to give shore leave to officers and men. Our cruise south had necessarily brought much discomfort and hardship, but it never produced complaint. All saw the necessity for hard work, and they knew that when the time came they would be allowed every possible chance to enjoy themselves. As many officers as could be spared from duty were given ten days' leave at a time, which permitted them to travel and see something of this most interesting country. Parties of enlisted men, in charge of the chaplain or some other suitable officer, went to different places for periods of four or five days. Some of these parties numbered as many as two hundred and fifty or three hundred men. Their conduct on such occasions was excellent and the impression they made most favourable. The old idea that a bluejacket must get drunk and make trouble every time he goes on shore was thoroughly discounted. The men went and came just as the officers did, and it was rare indeed that it became necessary to award punishment for bad conduct on shore. When it was necessary it came sharp and quick, and the knowledge that it was sure to come just

as certainly as the reward for good conduct would, had an excellent influence throughout the fleet. In addition, the men preferred to behave themselves well. Bringing the ships together produced emulation in this respect, as well as in others.

When opportunity offered I took my leave, and with my family and members of my staff visited Kioto, the old capital of Japan, stopping over at Nagoya long enough to visit the old castle and the potteries, which are among the finest in the country. It was at Nagoya that the war preparations were most striking. Constant drilling and marching of the men, while the women, in their places, gathered the crops and tilled the soil, indicated clearly what was to come. There was no boasting or show about it, only hard work, with quiet, determined faces on all sides. At Kioto our party secured quarters at a hotel so situated as to give us an excellent view of the city. Our beds were comfortable, our food quite good enough, and the service all that could be desired. From this comfortable base we planned and carried out many delightful expeditions to various points of interest.

The city is a veritable storehouse of valuable and historic souvenirs of Japanese progress and civilisation. The temples are among the oldest and finest in the kingdom, the silk manufactures probably the best in the world, and the dealers in ceramics well supplied with the most valuable articles in their line, for which they charged the most exorbitant prices, but were reasonable as soon as we showed them that we knew what the things were worth. Everything, from a lapdog to a Satsuma teacup, was offered for sale and, I must admit,

purchased by some member of the party before we left. Among the most interesting sights in Kioto were the looms, where valuable silks, some of them worth a hundred dollars a yard, were being made. Old-fashioned looms, in use for centuries, handled by women, turned out fabrics the equal of which cannot be found elsewhere in the world. Gold and silver threads were used in some of them, and the completed fabric was so stiff when finished that it would stand alone. A beautiful mountain stream ran through the city which, if properly harnessed, would have produced power enough to run any number of mills, but this would have thrown many women out of employment. Rather than do this the old looms were continued in use. Many of the fabrics so made appeared afterwards at the court ceremonies in Tokio. Some of them, no doubt, might be seen at similar ceremonies in London, Paris, and Washington.

Upon my return to Yokohama, at the expiration of my leave of absence, hard work again stared me in the face. All the vessels of the northern division, and as many as could be spared from the southern one, had been ordered to assemble at Chefoo for target practice and fleet manœuvres. The Kentucky was docked and necessary repairs made. All the ships were put in condition for immediate service, and early in June assembled at Chefoo.

The rivalry in the fleet over the coming target practice was great, promising excellent results. That all the vessels might have a fair chance to win, I suspended all drills except those with the guns, and ordered that all possible time should be devoted to ping-pong practice. While this was in progress I made my contem-

plated visit to Pekin for an audience with her Majesty, the Empress Dowager. The Kentucky and the Helena anchored off the Taku bar, the latter as close in as the depth of water would admit, and a tug was chartered to convey the party, consisting of my staff and a few selected officers, to the railroad station on the river above Taku. The sea was very rough, the tug small and almost unseaworthy, and to get on board of her was no easy job. We managed it, however, by the use of lifeboats, and, wet to the skin, started for the bar, where the sea was breaking in a way to promise us a good shaking up, if nothing more serious. On the bridge with the Chinese pilot seemed the most promising place in which to keep dry, and at the same time have a chance to swim if she capsized, and there I took my place. Our trunks, containing our full-dress uniforms, were put below, where they would be comparatively safe. Before we reached the bar the tug behaved so badly, rolling and pitching in a dangerous way, that the Chinese captain proposed to put about and run back to the ships. This did not promise well to me, so I ordered him to run his engines slowly and pay more attention to his boat. He was so badly scared that he was likely to let her fall off into the trough of the sea at any moment, and I knew that would be fatal. Just before we reached the bar I sent the tug ahead at full speed, and we went through the breaking sea rather than over it. For a moment the wretched little boat stood on end, and then, with one jump, landed on the inside of the bar, where the water was smooth. We were safe, but a wetter or more bedraggled lot of officers I never saw.

At the railroad station we found fairly comfortable accommodations in a train on the new road to Tientsin, in charge of Chinese officials. When we had run a short distance through the salt fields, where most of the salt used in the East is dried out from sea water and prepared for the market, a dust storm shut down on us, and for the rest of the distance we saw little except the black pall of dust that surrounded the train, penetrating our clothing, our eyes, and our throats. In some cases it even penetrated our tempers! The road ran through the country over which the foreign troops marched to the relief of Pekin during the Boxer troubles, and it was full of interest for that reason, as well as many others, but we saw little of it. We passed many camps of foreign troops which had the appearance of permanent occupation, but whenever I asked how long they would remain, the officers answered, "We will leave after the indemnity is paid!" How long after they did not specify. In some cases it was a few weeks, in others the soldiers are there yet.

Upon reaching Tientsin we were rattled off to a very good hotel—the Astor House Hotel—in vehicles that would not be employed in New York or London. There was no choice between them and walking. The following morning we were joined by the ladies of our families, who had come to Taku by mail steamer, had been landed in comfort, and had escaped the discomforts of the dust storm. When it was known that we were in the city, many foreign officers called to pay their respects and to invite us to visit their camps, which we did later. I was curious to hear from these highly decorated and gorgeously uniformed officers

their impressions of the American troops who had marched with them to Pekin. All of them had only words of praise for our men, but I only succeeded in getting from one of them anything like an opinion in detail. This was a German officer of rank, who praised particularly the discipline of our cavalry. He said he had visited the camp of this regiment after pay day, and found many evidences of hard drinking, but there was not a trooper among the lot but managed somehow to stand on his feet and salute as the group of officers passed! He was sure that such would not have been the case with other foreign troops in the same condition.

We spent one day in Tientsin to see some of the curious features of the historic place. Securing comfortable sedan chairs with trustworthy Chinese bearers, we visited the old native city, which had caused so much trouble and bloodshed to the troops marching to the relief of the legation in Pekin. It will be recalled that a high wall surrounded the city, and that it was against this that the Ninth United States Infantry was sent in a desperate charge after the Japanese had blown down the gate. The place was carried by our men and the English troops, who throughout the expedition fraternised with them and joined them in this charge. The gallant colonel of the Ninth was killed in advance of his men, and a small stone monument now marks the spot where he fell. In future this great wall will give no trouble, for it was completely blown up and removed after the capture of the city and a fine, wide boulevard constructed on its site. The Germans, who were given control of the place when it surren-

dered, saw that the work was thoroughly done, and, consequently, we passed entirely around the old Chinese city on a wide, well-paved street, scowled at by the natives, but not molested or threatened. The great Chinese gun plant at Tientsin, which had for years made all the guns for the army and navy, was a wreck, as were also the batteries that had defended it. What had not been destroyed by artillery fire had afterwards been treated with dynamite, and the destruction was complete. Much valuable machinery had been saved and sent to the site of a new establishment on the Yangtze. The Russians had removed many of the best guns from here and the Taku forts, with enormous quantities of ammunition, to their newly constructed forts at Port Arthur.

The American troops had all been withdrawn from China except a guard of one hundred men of the Ninth Infantry who remained at Pekin. About every other nation had troops both at Pekin and Tientsin. I noticed particularly the camps of the Japanese, who had a brigade of infantry just outside the old Chinese city of Tientsin—fine, sturdy-looking, brown chaps, who were ready at a moment's notice for any kind of work they might be called on to do. Before the assault on the great wall, before mentioned, a party of these men had been sent to blow in the main gate. The dynamite charge was fixed in place and the fuse lighted, but it failed to explode it. One of the men ran forward, fired his rifle into the charge, went to pieces with the gate, and was buried under its débris. In the German camp were several fine regiments of infantry, large, heavy-looking men, apparently twice the size of the Japanese,

well uniformed and equipped, and commanded by officers who had been thoroughly trained in their business. They were in control of Tientsin, and we saw more of them about the streets than of others, as they patrolled the foreign settlement and kept order.

The foreign settlement was in marked contrast to the filthy, dilapidated Chinese city. There were many beautiful houses, nearly all of which showed by the shell marks on their walls how desperate had been the attempts of the Chinese batteries to destroy them. Too much credit cannot be given to the companies of foreigners, merchants, clerks, etc., who volunteered to defend the city, and did defend it until the foreign troops arrived and relieved them. Many of them were killed and many more so badly wounded that they will remain invalids the rest of their lives.

## CHAPTER XXI

### AUDIENCE WITH THE EMPRESS DOWAGER

From Tientsin we continued to Pekin. No dust storm came our way, and we were able to pick out the various points of interest as we progressed. The railroad built by the Germans ran through an opening in the outer wall of the city, and landed us directly in front of and only a few yards from the great east gate of the new city. This gate was the one captured and held by the American troops. From the top of the great wall over it Riley's battery of field artillery was firing at the gates of the sacred city when that gallant officer lost his life. He was the only man of the command who was struck, and no one could tell where the bullet came from that killed him. Our minister to China met us on our arrival, and was good enough to insist on our staying with him in the legation, an old Chinese temple, during our visit.

As we passed through the gate—the wall is sixty feet thick—what we saw was most revolting. Lepers were lying about, their swollen, suppurating sores exposed to view, begging of those who passed; others, sick with various diseases, were in evidence, and beggars without number whined at our elbows and begged for alms. Dogs by the dozen barked and snarled, ugly, mangy curs of all breeds, that looked as if they had

never had enough to eat—such dogs as one sometimes sees in a fevered dream. It was only a short distance to the residence of the minister, where we were made comfortable and happy by the courteous hospitality of him and his wife. Our quarters in the temple were comfortable in many ways. The beds were delightful, and we could have enjoyed sleep had it not been for three things—dogs, rats, and mosquitoes; the dogs barked all night, the mosquitoes bit at all hours, and the rats raced over the floors and beds until sleep was out of the question.

A short walk after luncheon showed us how bitter the struggle had been to prevent the Boxers from capturing the legation and surrounding grounds. Bullet marks everywhere; in places walls more than a foot thick entirely shot away, and others so pitted with bullets that a finger could not be put on a sound place. One might expect to see this condition in a small space that had been subjected to a hot fire; but here it was the same for several miles over the whole of the English, American, and Japanese legations. Other foreign compounds were badly scarred, but these were the worst because the fighting in and about them was the fiercest. Before the siege was raised, all foreigners retreated to the English legation, and, of course, the greatest destruction was done there. At the time of my visit many of the legations had been rebuilt, most of them so constructed as to offer real resistance in case of attack, with proper quarters for the legation guard. The new English legation was almost like a fortress. A heavy, loop-holed wall had been built around the entire grounds, except in one place, where the old wall was

left intact. On this was inscribed in large black letters "Lest we forget." The new American legation was built out in the open, where the mob will have an easy time capturing it when the time comes! The barracks for the company of the Ninth Infantry, which formed the legation guard, were close to the legation, and without protection of any kind. The people of Pekin had had their lesson, surely a very severe one, and foreigners were safe there for a long time to come, but history has repeated itself so often in China that I think we may look for more trouble in the course of time. It would have been better, I think, when building our new legation, if we had made it strong enough to protect our people in case of necessity.

Close by our legation site was the great city wall, where the handful of American marines—there were less than one hundred of them—did such splendid service. The breastworks and barricades had been removed at the time of my visit, but one could easily trace their lines. Standing as I did on the spot, with all the surroundings in plain sight, it seemed marvellous that these men could have resisted the attacks made on them by such vastly superior numbers. Yet they did it, and by so doing saved the lives of those committed to their care, and reflected great honour on their splendid corps. At one point the Chinese soldiers worked their way, under cover, to the very end of our barricade, within a few yards of our men. They were preparing to charge the position in flank, when the marines took the offensive, charged into the Chinese trenches, and with their bayonets drove the Boxers more than half a mile. A few marines were killed or wounded, but the Chinese

suffered severely. Their dead were piled in great numbers on the wall, where the decaying bodies soon became a great menace to the health of our men. This handful of marines held their position day after day and night after night, until their diminished number forced them to retire to the English legation, where all foreign residents were assembled, protected by the combined legation guards. Here they fought heroically until the arrival of the relief expedition.

During the worst days of the siege the English flag covered the sick and wounded from all the legations. The question of food and medical supplies was a most serious one—one that gave grave concern to those in charge. Grown people could, and did, stand the strain without complaint, but the children soon fell ill, and were the source of great anxiety. The wife of the English minister had all these children in charge. Her hens, of which she had but a small number, laid a few eggs every day, and these were carefully preserved for the use of the sick children. One day the wife of a minister begged to be given a fresh egg, and, supposing that it was for some sick child, her request was granted. Afterwards it was learned that the egg was used for washing the lady's hair! It is unnecessary to name the nationality of the lady—that can be easily guessed—but she did not get any more fresh eggs.

When my arrival had been duly reported to her, the Empress Dowager requested, through our minister, a copy of the speech I was going to make at the coming audience, that it might be translated and duly considered. The following day her reply to my speech was received, translated, and stowed away. Then the offi-

cial calls on foreign representatives were made, which took the better part of two days, and I was ready for the audience which had been arranged for me.

The imperial court was at the summer palace, ten or twelve miles from Pekin, and to this spot we must journey in proper green chairs carried on the shoulders of native coolies. We should have been much more comfortable in some wheeled vehicle drawn by horses, certainly would have made the trip in half the time, but etiquette required that we go in green chairs, so in them we went, I in one, my wife in another, the minister in another, and so on until we made quite a procession of green chairs. We left our temple in the morning in time to arrive at our destination before noon. We were escorted by a number of Chinese cavalrymen mounted on ponies. Their appearance was grotesque. They seemed to take turns in falling; sometimes the pony would fall and spill his rider into the road, but more frequently the rider would fall off, generally over the animal's head. Those in front of us yelled incessantly at the people in the streets to get out of our way, which they did promptly, or were banged over the head with a stick. As we passed in this way through mile after mile of the city, I was thoroughly interested by what I saw. At times we passed what seemed to be the remains of houses after a fire, but there had been no fire. A Chinese, wishing a new house, builds one, but rarely tears down the old one; he leaves it standing, and after a time only the walls remain; the weather removes the rest of it. This gives the city, in places, the appearance of having been burned over. None of the streets were paved, and the dust kicked up by the

mass of people moving about was stifling, while the noise of the yelping dogs and the swearing guard fairly deafened one. The smells were those usually encountered in Chinese cities, and cannot be found elsewhere.

When the city was captured and occupied by the relief expedition it was divided into districts, the troops of each nation taking charge of a district to preserve order and, if possible, to prevent looting and fires. The flag of the nation having charge was displayed at the corners of the streets, and small ones tacked on the doors of the houses by the people who wished protection. In this way any one moving about the city could tell at a glance what nation had jurisdiction of the particular section he was in. Some of the troops looted houses and stores right and left as soon as they were in possession, while others were not permitted this luxury. Among the latter were the American troops, and when this became known the people generally tacked American flags on their houses, thus claiming protection. Evidence of this was still to be seen as we were carried through the portion of the city held by our men —the flags were still on many of the doors. The published stories of the looting of Pekin by foreign troops were grossly exaggerated. The city was undoubtedly looted, pretty thoroughly at that, but it was done in most cases by Chinese soldiers and the gang of outlaws that always seems to be on hand for such occasions. It is true that some of the foreigners looted—such is their custom with captured cities—but, as a rule, the loot that was carried away from Pekin by the relief army was bought or taken forcibly from the Chinese who had done the looting in the first place. The conduct of

some of the foreign troops was brutal and savage, but not so bad as represented by the press.

We passed out through the great gate, captured by the Japanese troops in the assault on the city, on our way to the summer palace. Here there was still a guard of Japanese troops, who preserved the strictest order. The wall all about the gate showed the effect of the Japanese artillery fire before the infantry regiments were sent to scale it. Hundreds of shells had struck it; it was fairly honeycombed with shells; but in no case that I noticed had they completely penetrated the wall.

Once out into the open country, the scene changed entirely. The level, black-looking land was, or had been, carefully cultivated, and the green fields offered some relief to our eyes, which were smarting from the clouds of dust surrounding us. The road over which we passed had been in use two thousand years or more. It had been paved with great blocks of stone at one time, but these had become somewhat displaced, leaving holes filled with fine, pulverized dust, which rose in clouds as the coolies tramped through it. Along the middle of the road I noticed a ribbon of yellow sand. Yellow is the royal Chinese colour, and this ribbon of sand was official notice that the Emperor, or some member of the royal family, would pass over the road that day, and common people must keep out of the way. Notice by yellow sand is always given when any member of the imperial family is to venture into the country. As we progressed, the escort of the Empress was seen coming our way. We were sidetracked at a safe distance, and when they had passed we resumed our journey.

When we arrived, the summer palace seemed crowded with officials and eunuchs, but I was afterwards told that there were only about two thousand of the latter, the usual number to guard the palace. Curious-looking, heavy, stalwart men, these eunuchs, with leaders whose keen, tricky-looking eyes were set too close together for my liking. None of them indeed was the kind of man I would select for a post of trust, but as far as I know they were faithful to her Majesty. The fear of a deep well or an opium pill may have been responsible for this. I positively distrusted, even disliked, the whole gang from the moment I first laid eyes on them, and I found this was the feeling entertained by most of the officers who were with me.

Everything was in readiness for our reception. As soon as we could change into special full-dress uniform we were ushered into the royal presence. I had selected the officers to accompany me—tall, fine-looking men—and when we stood in a row facing her I felt sure the Empress Dowager had not often seen a more business-like-looking lot of officers. She was seated on her throne, beautifully dressed, calm, and dignified. On a chair to her left, but not on the throne, sat the young Emperor, a young man, who seemed to me deficient in mental make-up. In this opinion, however, I was not supported by some of those who were with me.

The minister presented me in a few words to her Majesty, and, standing at a distance of about twenty feet, I repeated the speech I had sent her some days before—at least a portion of it. She replied with the speech she had sent me, and then an unusual thing hap-

pened. She said to the minister through her interpreter:

"Ask the admiral to come near me; I wish to converse with him!"

This part of the play had not been rehearsed, as it was unexpected. For a moment I was just a bit disconcerted, but only for a moment. I ascended the two or three steps of the throne and approached the wonderful woman who sat in front of me. I had no idea just how close I ought to go, but I had often talked to the wife of our President, and I felt that I could come as close to this Chinese lady as I had to her. I stopped when I was close enough to put my hand on her, if that became desirable. Then I looked into the eyes of this woman who ruled over four hundred millions of people, holding their lives and the destiny of her country in the hollow of her hand. Beautiful, appealing brown eyes looked back at me out of a face that must at one time have been strikingly beautiful. Every line of it indicated firmness and strength; the mouth alone suggested cruelty, if occasion called for it. A more striking face, one to be longer remembered, I have never seen. The Manchu head dress she wore was most becoming, and added to the effect of the exquisite costume in which her Majesty was attired.

The Empress Dowager spoke deliberately and with dignity. The interpreter received her words, bumped his head on the floor, raised his eyes, and repeated in English what she had said. I replied, another bump of the head, and with downcast eyes he conveyed my message to her Majesty. Thus, for about twenty minutes, the conversation continued, growing more interesting

as she stated her side of the Boxer troubles and the cruel punishment China had received, as a nation, for the doings of a band of outlaws. As the conversation progressed, the dark-brown eyes blazed, and I felt them looking straight into my brain as well as my heart. If I had wanted to do so, I felt that it would be impossible for me to attempt to deceive the woman who was watching me so earnestly. Officially, she knew no word of English, but several times she started to reply before my words had been translated, which convinced me that she understood well every word I was saying. The rapid changes of expression on her face also led me to this conclusion. The interview concluded with these words from her Majesty:

"After all my country has suffered, I find she has but one friend in the world. That, admiral, is the great country you represent!"

With these words she clasped her own shapely, delicate hands together. I bowed and backed out of her presence, fully aware that I had enjoyed the privilege of seeing the most remarkable woman in the world show her real feeling.

Having disposed of the male portion of the party, the Empress Dowager granted an audience to the ladies who had accompanied us, was most gracious in conversation with them, and entertained them at luncheon. In the meantime a state luncheon was served for the officers, which was attended by many Chinese court officials and officers of rank. The only wine served was champagne, but the dishes were many and curious. Many of them I did not recognise, nor had ever heard of before. Sharks' fins, bird's-nest soup, and eggs, very old and

black, and many preparations of pork, I knew and partook of, but there were many which I tasted without knowing what they contained.

After luncheon, which lasted more than two hours, we were shown through the beautiful grounds of the summer palace. The conduct of the troops who had occupied them—they were not Americans—had been such as to make it hard for us to look our hosts in the face, as they pointed out to us the results of their infamous conduct. Beautiful old bronzes, too heavy to be carried away, which had stood in those grounds for more than a thousand years, were destroyed by dynamite. Holes were drilled into them, dynamite sticks inserted and fired, thus blowing open and defacing pieces of untold value, which could never by any possibility be replaced. The officials who conducted us only glanced at the things so destroyed—made no comment until some one asked how or why it had been done. Then the name of the country whose men had done these things was mentioned, but nothing more was said.

We were fairly started on our return, when a terrific dust storm broke over us. The air was so thick that our bearers had great difficulty in following the road. It was like a dense fog at sea—worse, indeed, because the flying dust cut the eyes, causing the men to stop until they could regain their sight. Frequently we found ourselves mixed up with those going in the opposite direction, when a wordy war would follow, terminated in most cases by the sticks of our cavalry escort. We arrived at our temple, having certainly swallowed our "peck of dirt," ready for such a rest as we could induce the mosquitoes and rats to allow us.

We had done twenty-six miles in uncomfortable chairs, half of it in a blinding dust storm!

The day following our visit to the summer palace our minister, Mr. Conger, gave a state dinner. Prince Chung, Cheng-Chi-Tung, and other high officials attended. The day was intensely hot, not a breath of air could be felt, and the mosquitoes were most active. We sat under the trees in the temple yard awaiting the arrival of the guests, when the first one appeared, perspiring freely, his head encased in the heavy headgear demanded by the occasion. All Chinese gentlemen dine with their head covering on. The minister asked the newcomer to remove his helmet, which he gladly did, handing it to his attendant. When the second guest arrived, this attendant hurried back, and the heavy headpiece was replaced. Then the two were uncovered, as the first had been, until the third one arrived, when they hurriedly covered again! This was continued as each guest arrived until all were assembled, where they solemnly sat with their hats on, watching each other like hawks, while the perspiration streamed down their faces.

The half hour of assembling and the dinner that followed were most interesting and instructive to one who watched, as I did, the move of each of the players in the game. When one of the Chinese officials wished to speak to another he left his seat, approached the one to be spoken to, placed his mouth close to his ear, and, with his own hands on either side of his mouth, whispered what he had to say. This was before the dinner was announced. It was evident that each one of them was afraid to allow the others to know what he was

saying. Wise old Cheng-Chi-Tung watched them all. No two of them exchanged words without his knowledge, and I could not help thinking that he suspected that he was himself the subject of much of the whispered conversations.

During the dinner I was seated between Cheng-Chi-Tung on my right and a graduate of Yale on my left. Behind Cheng-Chi-Tung was his pipe bearer, a delicate-looking Chinese boy, who filled his master's pipe and passed it to him with the regularity of some mechanical device. The number of times the pipe was emptied would not be believed if I stated it. The man on my left, secretary to some high official, spoke English perfectly, and as the wine warmed him up discussed affairs in China with a freedom that was surprising. He was eloquent in defence of the Boxers and the course of the Chinese government toward them, and very bitter in his comments on the conduct of the foreign troops. After dinner he presented me with a book he had written, which has since afforded me much amusement.

The question of opening two more Chinese ports to foreign trade was much discussed during this dinner by the foreign ministers present. All of them seemed to consider it a good thing to do, except the minister from Japan, who took little part in the conversation. The ports named, which were Mukden and one outside the mouth of the Yalu River, met the approval of the Russian minister particularly, who had much to say in favour of it.

The following morning I received the card of an English officer, who requested to see me on very important and confidential business. It was concerning the

two new treaty ports. The English and the Japanese ministers were anxious that the one on the Yalu River should be actually inside its mouth, to ensure the river being kept open to foreign trade. This officer had been personally to the place, and one glance at the rough sketch of the reconnaissance he had made convinced me that the contemplated treaty would not secure the desired result. Our minister was confident that it would, but after an interview with the Japanese minister I concluded to look into the matter more closely.

The Austria, one of our gunboats at Chefoo, was commanded by Commander Ward, an officer who, in addition to many other excellent qualities, spoke Russian fluently; and to him was given the work of examining the mouth of the Yalu. He was directed to employ the best pilots to be obtained, to make a complete running survey of the locality, to report fully on the proposed treaty port, and to recommend a suitable one for the purpose in view—keeping open the mouth of the river. In a short time the work was completed, and the report, one of the most valuable and accurate ones ever made, was submitted. Later, Mr. Conger wired me to know if I could send a gunboat to the mouth of the Yalu and, without exciting suspicion, get certain information he wanted. I replied at once, sending him a copy of Commander Ward's report, which showed that the proposed treaty port was well outside the actual mouth of the river, was so situated that even small boats could only get to it at high water, and that it would be of no value to foreign trade if declared open. I suggested that if possible there should be substituted the name of another port which Commander

Ward had recommended. It was well inside the mouth of the river, had over sixty thousand inhabitants and a thriving trade, with good water up to the docks. It was only a few days before the treaty was to be signed, and quick action was necessary to secure what we desired. The combined influence of our own and the Japanese minister prevailed, the name of the new port was put in, and the treaty signed before the Russian influence could prevent it. It may be well to state here that if sufficient time had been allowed, this treaty would never have been signed; the Russian minister, by tactics of which he was master, would have prevented it. The Chinese government was helpless to prevent Russia from doing just as she pleased, and the protests of other governments, however strong, had little or no effect. The promise to evacuate Manchuria, giving a date at which it would positively be done, had been made so often and never kept that such talk now was regarded as a joke. The following extract from one of my official reports made in July, 1903, shows how I felt on the subject:

"After consultation with our minister at Pekin and from my own observation of affairs, I am satisfied that the Russians do not intend to evacuate Manchuria or any part of that territory now occupied by them, and it is doubtful that they will do so in the future. So long, therefore, as the Russian forces maintain military control of Manchuria and have troops stationed at Newchwang, they, of course, are responsible for the maintenance of order, and there is no longer need to retain any of our vessels at that port. I therefore directed the Wilmington to rejoin the fleet at Chefoo, which she has done. The Wilmington, as will be re-

membered, was, at the request of the State Department, ordered to Newchwang to be there at the expected evacuation of that place on *April 1st last.*"

Thus, for three months, we had held a vessel in port waiting to see the Russian troops leave, as had been promised by their government. A few months later the Japanese took a hand in the business, and her soldiers soon secured what all others had failed to secure by peaceable means—the evacuation of a Chinese treaty port which Russia, in the first place, never had any right to occupy!

## CHAPTER XXII

### A SUMMER AT CHEFOO

Upon my return to Chefoo from Pekin, I found all the vessels of the fleet assembled there. The new battleship Wisconsin was flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Cooper, who had just arrived to assume command of the northern (or cruiser) division of the fleet. The battleship Oregon was also in port, and altogether we had twenty vessels of war in the harbour—a greater number than had ever before been assembled in any Chinese port. This led the Russian authorities at Port Arthur to assume that we were there for the purpose of showing our friendship and sympathy for Japan as against them. To get to the bottom of this and find out exactly why we were mobilised at Chefoo, a brilliant young general, Desino by name, was sent to watch us. He came prepared for a long stay, brought his charming wife and daughters with him, took rooms at the hotel, and made himself most agreeable in his intercourse with our officers. The object of his visit was so apparent that I one day said to him, "General, you know we are here this summer only for our health!" He seemed to consider this as very far from the real reason, and devoted a great part of his time to finding out something that did not exist. I had told him the exact reason for our presence! But I am

free to confess that in doing so I had not expected him to believe me.

The defences of Port Arthur were, of course, of the greatest interest to us all from a professional standpoint. General Desino was one of the officers who had been employed in their design and construction, and knew more about their condition than any one else with whom I could communicate. He gave me much valuable information during our many talks on the subject, holding always that no power could capture the place if they tried. When I pointed out the importance of Pigeon Cove and 203 Metre Hill, two places left out of the general plan of defence, he agreed with me, and said:

"I asked for the fortification of these, but my government would not allow me the money. We will mine the Cove and depend upon the concentration of fire from other forts for the defence of 203 Metre Hill!"

The mines did later keep the fleet out of Pigeon Cove, because the Japanese could not afford to lose any of their heavy ships, but no amount of concentrated fire, bad as it was, prevented the occupation of the Hill by the brave men of General Nogi's command. When once they held it, the fate of Port Arthur and its defences was sealed.

Our fleet spent the summer months at Chefoo. Target practice was held for all the ships, including the two new battleships, Wisconsin and Oregon, and the cruisers Albany and Raleigh, which had just arrived from home. The results were far more satisfactory than had been attained in previous drills, giving great promise for future work. Much time was given to athletics.

Men were landed from the ships every day, using the fine field which had been provided for us. While athletic sports were a pastime, affording amusement to officers and men, they were at the same time part of the drill of the fleet. It was the first time they had been so regarded, and the effect was good.

We soon found, after anchoring the fleet at Chefoo, that something was wrong with the charts; either the original survey was bad or the harbour had undergone great changes. As the fleet would probably use the place for future summers, it was necessary to have reliable charts. I directed that a thorough survey be made, and Lieutenant Field, a very able and competent young officer, organised a surveying party, established a station on shore, connected by wire with the observatory at Shanghai, established accurately the latitude and longitude, and proceeded energetically with the work. Miles of sounding were run, and, after two months of most excellent work, the smooth sheets were sent to Washington, where the hydrographic office produced a very fine chart of the harbour. When it came out to us, it was curious to see how very bad the others had been! It was fortunate that some of the ships had not been run on shore.

The hotel accommodations at Chefoo were not first-class, but they were bearable. The wives of many of the officers of the fleet used them during the summer, and were thus enabled to be near their husbands. The question of having the wives of officers follow the ships from port to port is one that has been much discussed in the service and out of it. One Secretary of the Navy went so far as to issue an order on the subject,

but as the wives were in no way liable to the penalties prescribed by the regulations for their husbands, this order only caused merriment. The women came and went as they pleased. Some officers of rank held, and still hold, that it was a great detriment to efficiency to have them about; others held just the opposite. Without joining either party to this controversy, I felt certain that I could not prevent the women from going just where they pleased or where their husbands wanted them to go. For one, I wanted my wife as near me as she could get, and therefore secured quarters for her where she might be as comfortable as circumstances permitted. At the same time I gave notice, months in advance, that the fleet would summer at Chefoo, so that those who wished to do so might also secure quarters. The assertion, often made, that officers are induced to neglect their duties when ladies are about, in order to spend their time on shore with them, has always seemed to me weak; but if we grant, for the sake of argument, that it has some truth, I still believe that the good effect upon officers, particularly young ones, of associating with ladies far outweighs any harm that can be done by such neglect. In fact, I have never known an officer to neglect his duty for any such reason. But I have known many who have been made comfortable and happy by having their wives or sweethearts where they could see them when off duty.

Early in September a typhoon swept up the coast of China, the tail of it striking us at Chefoo. The wind brought in a heavy sea, which made the small ships roll and pitch badly, but no serious damage was done beyond the loss of a few anchors. The air was

so thick with the mist driven in by the gale that the vessels could not be seen, and, as many of them dragged their anchors, we were fortunate to escape injury. I was caught on shore by the storm, and witnessed the destruction caused by a cloudburst on the mountains back of the city. The water—one couldn't call it rain—seemed to come in a mass from a very black cloud which swept down from the mountains, and instantly the whole surrounding country was deluged. Small streams were converted into roaring torrents, rushing with irresistible force to the sea and bringing with them everything in their way. Houses, lumber, animals of all kinds, and even human beings were rolled over and over until they landed in the harbour, to be pounded by the heavy surf that was breaking on the beach. I stood and watched the pitiful scene for some time, unable to render the least assistance. It was beyond any human effort; we could only watch the destruction and hope that the end would soon come. The danger on shore was many times greater than on the ships, though most people would not believe it. Not a man was hurt in the fleet. Twenty-five hundred were drowned or killed on shore! Men, women, and children were beaten down in the roads and fields by the force of the downpour, and drowned before help could reach them.

When the storm finally passed, which it did as suddenly as it came, the sight from our hotel windows was grand and impressive. On the beach immediately in front of us were several large, timber-laden junks which had grounded and were rapidly going to pieces, while their crews struggled among the heavy timbers

which floated out of the boats. The whole surface of the sea was covered with the débris brought out by the flood, and dead bodies were constantly exposed by the falling tide. I watched with intense interest the struggles of some of the poor beasts that had been swept out by the rush of water. A milch cow swam for more than an hour in the rough sea, finally landed, walked up the shore, and was tied up in the hotel yard to await an owner. She was swelled until her skin was as tight as a drum-head. After resting a few hours, she seemed to resume her natural size and appearance, showing no bad effects from her long struggle. Two very large, fat hogs also landed on the shore after being in the water more than an hour. They swam easily, showing no signs of distress, but, like the cow, they were very much swollen when they came ashore. The old idea that a pig would cut his own throat in swimming was clearly disproved in this case. They not only swam well, but showed no marks of any kind of injury when examined.

A few days after my return from Pekin a large packing case came from the Empress Dowager, addressed to my wife. When delivered on board the flagship it was found to contain various articles of food, packed in large earthenware jars. Some of them contained chicken preserved in wine, old chicken and very good wine, but, unlike most good wine, this had not improved with age! Other jars contained pork or eggs, all preserved in wine. It was certainly most gracious in her Majesty to send such a valuable present, but the food did not prove to be to our taste, probably because we did not know how to

prepare it for the table. Our efforts produced many bad odours, but nothing else.

Early in July I received words of commendation from Washington regarding our work in Manila, as the following letters will show:

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, June 5, 1903.

SIR:

Your report of February 7, 1903, No. 26 D, on the special operations and manœuvres of the Asiatic Fleet in and about Manila and Subig Bays has received the attentive consideration of the general board, which has reported on it to the department, with commendation of its full and interesting details and the success and instructiveness of the manœuvres. The general plan seems to have been well adapted to the resources at your command and to operations probable in the event of actual war in the far East; the enthusiasm and general efficiency of the officers and men admirable.

The department takes pleasure in communicating to you the favourable opinion of the general board, in which the department concurs, appreciating the sustained zeal and ability of your administration.

Yours respectfully,
CHAS. H. DARLING,
*Acting Secretary.*

Upon the receipt of this letter its contents were made known to the officers and men, and the following written to the commander of the Philippine division:

FLAGSHIP KENTUCKY,
CHEFOO, CHINA, July 8, 1903.

SIR:

1. I enclose herewith a copy of letter No. 673, 36 B, of June 3, 1903, from the department, expressing its

pleasure with the operations and manœuvres of the fleet in and about Manila and Subig Bays.

2. It is very gratifying to receive letters of this character, and I desire that you will communicate its contents to each of the vessels of the squadron under your command, that all who have tended to the good results should share in the department's commendation.

Very respectfully,

R. D. Evans,
*Rear-Admiral U. S. Navy,*
*Commander-in-Chief United States*
*Asiatic Fleet.*

The receipt of this letter put new life into the officers and men. We all determined to show, if possible, even better results in the future.

During the month of August reports had reached me of threatened trouble for our missionaries and merchants in the Poyang Lake district, particularly on the Kan River at Wan-kia-tau and Nan-chang. I at once sent the gunboat Villalobos to look into the matter and afford all necessary protection. Much to my surprise, the commanding officer reported to me that our consul at Kow-kiang had read to him a letter from the Tao-Tai (governor) complaining of the visit of the Villalobos. The consul-general seemed to sustain the action of the Tao-Tai, which caused me to write the following letter:

Flagship Kentucky,
Chefoo, China, July 30, 1903.

Sir:

1. I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 77–03 and 13–03 of the 22d instant, relative to the movements of the U. S. S. Villalobos.

2. I have considered with much care paragraph 16 of the letter above referred to, relative to the contents of the letter, read to you by our consul-general, from the Tao-Tai at Kow-kiang, reporting that a French gunboat had gone through Poyang Lake and up the Kan River to Wan-kia-tau, and thence by boat to Nan-chang, which corresponds, as you state, with the movements of the Villalobos, and is presumably intended to mean that vessel. Further, that the Tao-Tai insisted in his letter that such visits should be prohibited, and that the foreign representatives had previously been warned not to send gunboats to the Poyang district, as the people thereabouts are "bad men."

3. Your visit with the Villalobos to Nan-chang for the purpose of investigating the condition and providing for the protection of the lives and property of Americans is approved. It is my desire that, so far as practicable, similar visits be paid to all Americans having property or other lawful interests in China, that I may be kept fully informed regarding all things concerning their welfare.

4. You will, if occasion offers, inform the Tao-Tai who wrote the letter protesting to the consul-general against your vessel that his objections will not receive consideration, and that if he thinks the people of the Poyang district are "bad men," that such a reason is a greater cause for more frequent visits and more careful inspections of our interests by our armed vessels, and that those visits will be continued in the future as in the past. You are also authorised to inform the Tao-Tai, should occasion offer, and any other Chinese officials who may raise objections of this character, that our gunboats are always amply provided for dealing with "bad men," and if there should be any indication to pay other than proper respect to American life and property on the part of these men, that they will be dealt with immediately, and that the gunboats will,

without further instructions, administer severe and lasting punishment.

5. It is expected that the Tao-Tai and other officials of China will suppress all disorder and give ample protection to the lives and property of Americans; but if these officials fail to do so, the question of adequate and proper protection will be taken in hand by our gunboats. In order to satisfy ourselves that the various local officials are properly affording protection, our gunboats will continue to navigate the Poyang Lake and the various other inland waters of China wherever Americans may be, and where, by treaty with China, they are authorised to engage in business or reside for the purpose of spreading the Gospel.

Very respectfully,
R. D. EVANS,
*Rear-Admiral U. S. Navy,*
*Commander-in-Chief United States*
*Asiatic Fleet.*
*To the Commanding Officer U. S. S. Villalobos.*

My action in this matter was fully reported to the Navy Department, and also to our minister in Pekin. Much to my surprise, Mr. Conger replied to my letter, rather siding with the Tao-Tai in the position he had taken. He asked me to give him my authority for sending gunboats into Poyang Lake and under what specific treaty I had acted. I stated in reply that I had not acted under any specific treaty; that my action was based on the broad principle that wherever the Chinese government allowed American citizens to reside and engage in business, commercial or otherwise, I claimed the right to send the proper force to protect them in case of necessity. Here the matter rested until the

Navy Department referred my report to the State Department. The gunboats in the meantime continued to patrol the Poyang Lake district. The Secretary of State, Mr. Hay, after considering my report, addressed a letter to Mr. Conger, our minister in Pekin, a copy of which was forwarded to me. In this letter Mr. Hay stated that the position assumed by me was absolutely and entirely correct, and expressed surprise that Mr. Conger had differed with me. He also gave Mr. Conger the information he had asked of me, viz.: the specific treaties under which he upheld my action. These were treaties with other countries than our own of which I had no knowledge, but under "the-most-favoured-nation" clause applied to us. I regretted this difference with our minister at Pekin. It was the only one we ever had. It did result in much good, however, for it gave the commander-in-chief of the Asiatic Fleet, for the first time, an idea of how the State Department regarded this important matter. Naval commanders are frequently called upon to act promptly in important matters, and they generally have to do it without assistance from the State Department or any other recognised authority. If they meet the approval of their government, their action is commended. They sometimes receive a reprimand, though their action is approved, but not officially so. Such was the case with Captain Wilkes when he removed Mason and Slidell from the British steamer Trent during the Civil War, and Captain Collins, who captured the Confederate cruiser Florida in a neutral Brazilian port and brought her to the United States. We must use our best judgment on such occasions, and if our government finds it

necessary to reprimand us, take our punishment without complaint.

The end of September saw our work at Chefoo completed as far as it could be under the circumstances. Three cruisers had reported for duty—the Albany, sister ship to the New Orleans; the Cincinnati, built in the United States; and her sister ship, the Raleigh. The last named was almost unfit to go to sea because of bad work done on her boilers and engines at the Portsmouth Navy Yard, and it was necessary to put her in a dockyard for repairs at once. Indeed, all the ships required some minor repairs, and, as we had no station of our own where such work could be done, I sent the cruiser division, under Rear-Admiral Cooper, to Yokohama, that he might utilise the facilities of the Yokosuka Navy Yard. With the Kentucky, Oregon, Helena, and Wilmington, I sailed for Nagasaki, where there were excellent machine shops for the work we required. En route we stopped at Tsingtao, where the Germans again received us most cordially and did everything in their power to render our visit enjoyable. Many entertainments were planned and given, among them several dinners on shore for the enlisted men.

On one occasion during this visit I had been dining with the governor, and on my way to my boat, after midnight, I passed what seemed to be a large military warehouse. It was on the water front, very near the landing for our boats. As I approached the building I noticed that it was lighted, and had a guard of German sailors about the door. The German officer who had been detailed for duty on my staff and was with me at the time asked if I would look in for a moment, which

I did, and was much surprised at what I saw. The large lower floor had been furnished with over two hundred cot beds, and each one contained an American bluejacket, sound asleep, under care of the German sailors on guard at the door. Here they slept quietly until the boats came in for them in the morning, when they returned, clean and sober, to their ships for breakfast. In all my experience I had never before witnessed such a sight, and I took great pleasure in thanking the German Admiral, Count Baudissin, who had commanded the Hohenzollern in New York, for his great courtesy and kindness to my men.

At Nagasaki the repairs to the ships were taken in hand at once and hurried to completion. War preparations were evident everywhere, and I was thankful that the shops could spare the time from their own work to do what was required for me. The work being done by the Japanese clearly indicated that they expected to ship a large number of men and vast supplies from this port. Railroad switches to all docks were being rapidly, though quietly, constructed, and to all the wharves where steamers could land, thus connecting the docks with the main lines of railroad leading into the interior. Several Russian warships were in port, and their officers seemed curiously indifferent to what was going on under their very noses. They still declared that Japan would never dare to make war on them!

Repairs being completed, I proceeded to Kobe, intending to assemble the fleet there for drills before proceeding to Manila for record target practice. The water about Kobe was well suited for the work I projected, and the town was one of the best on the coast

in which to give liberty to our men. Orders were issued for the ships at Yokohama to join me as fast as their repairs were completed. Everything pointed to a most interesting period of fleet drills, when one morning a bomb dropped on us in the shape of a cipher message from the Secretary of the Navy at Washington, asking how soon I could sail for Honolulu with three battleships and four cruisers. I replied that I could sail as soon as the necessary coal could be taken in—about twelve hours—twenty-four hours at most. At the same time I advised, unless the emergency was great, that I be allowed to dock some of the ships and paint their bottoms before sailing. This was granted in a subsequent telegram, directing me to sail with the fleet the moment the ships were ready and make the best of my way to Honolulu. I was left in absolute ignorance as to what I was to do on arriving—whether I was to fight or cruise on to the coast of California. I was on my back with a severe attack of inflammatory rheumatism when the first telegram came. The doctors had been working over me for some time without any apparent benefit. The message did what they had failed to do—put me on my feet at once and made me forget the pain.

Instead of assembling at Kobe, I sailed for Yokohama, where I could have an eye on the work to complete it so as to sail at the earliest moment. I could form no idea of the reason for such a sudden call for the fleet, but I felt that it must be some very important matter that would take us away from Japan at the moment when she was about to declare war with Russia. I never knew why I was sent on this long cruise until

several years after, when the President himself told me. We were about to acquire the Panama Canal zone, and there was a rumour that some of the South American republics would place obstacles in our way. The President wished to know, and it may be have others know, just how long it would take to have the Asiatic Fleet at Honolulu, ready for service in the South Pacific. By a practical demonstration he got the information he wanted, and was pleased to know how short the time really was.

All the telegrams sent me about the sailing of the fleet were in cipher, but the Japanese government knew as much about it as I did. The news was given out in Washington and wired to Tokio, where it caused much excitement and comment. The Japanese felt that we were deserting them at a time when they sorely needed our moral support, and that the Russians would so regard this movement of our fleet. It was not my business to correct this impression, even had it been in my power to do so. We had a representative in the Japanese capital to attend to such matters. Before sailing I called on the Japanese authorities to say good-bye. One of the cabinet ministers, who was a warm personal friend, asked me to convey a message to President Roosevelt for him.

"Please say to the President that war between Japan and Russia is inevitable unless England and the United States interfere. We have done everything possible to prevent it, and have failed."

On my arrival in Honolulu I was careful to see that this message was duly transmitted.

The manner of hunting wild ducks in Japan had

long interested me, and before sailing I had an opportunity to enjoy this sport. Baron Kaneko had a fine duck pond on his place near Tokio, where royalty frequently hunted, and to this I and the members of my family were invited. The pond was an artificial one, made in an old rice field. Bamboos and other quick-growing trees had been planted to enclose an area of a few acres, and the earth heaped up about their roots to hold the water in the pond and screen the ducks therein from the view of any one outside. The water in the pond was two or three feet deep. As soon as ducks began to appear, the pond was generously baited with rice to attract them, and they resorted to it in great numbers to feed. At regular intervals ditches about four feet wide were cut through the bamboos and the embankment. These ditches were cut with an elbow, or bend, so that they did not permit the ducks inside to see what was in the ditch outside. The banks of the ditches were built up about three feet high, and at the end of each one was a small watch-house from which the number of ducks could be counted and reported to the hunters waiting to catch them.

A number of trained tame ducks were used as decoys. They were always fed by putting grain in the ditches instead of the pond, so they resorted to them to feed. When the grain was put into the ditch, a wire screen across the mouth was withdrawn, and the Japanese attendant drummed on the side of the watch-house with a stick, which was the signal to the decoys that their meal was served, and they swam for it from all parts of the pond. The wild ducks, whose food had been cut down in the pond, soon learned what this sig-

nal meant, and they joined their tame friends and swam into the ditches to feed.

The hunters in the meantime were quietly assembled near the watch-houses, under cover. Each one was provided with a butterfly net with a long bamboo handle. The watchmen, looking through a small hole, counted the number of wild ducks in the ditch, signalled this with his fingers to the waiting hunters, and the sport began. The party was divided, half approaching the ditch on either side, all in Indian file, moving noiselessly until all were in position. As we stood up, the wild ducks jumped into the air to escape, and flew into our nets. Then the decoy ducks were driven back into the pond, ready to bring more of their wild companions to the net. As soon as the ducks were caught, a Japanese attendant took charge of them, killed, and prepared them for the meal that was to follow. It was deadly work for the ducks, for I only saw one escape the nets while I watched them. I caught one, a fine mallard, which was enough for me. I couldn't help thinking what my dear old sporting friends, Mr. Cleveland, General McCook, and others, would say if they could see me with a butterfly net catching gray mallards! It was a fine pastime for ladies, but I saw no sport in it—the ducks had no chance in the world to escape. Decoyed by their tame companions, they could not get into anything like a fair flight before they were in the nets.

I found a spot where, by peeping through the bamboo, I could observe the flock in the pond without being seen myself. At a rough estimate, I placed the number of ducks feeding or sleeping on the water at two thousand. All kinds were there—mallard, widgeon, sprig

tails, black heads, two or three kinds of teal, and several kinds I had never before seen. In the midst of a thickly settled country this great flock of wild birds behaved exactly as if no enemy were within a hundred miles of them, simply because they could not see the danger that was gradually killing them off. It was a neat, merciful way of killing them, because none of them went off wounded to die of starvation or became food for hawks or coons, but I could not feel that it was work for a sportsman—one who loves the work of decoying the birds for himself, and then watching the beautiful flight as they try to escape the gun.

When the hunters were satisfied with their sport we retired to the Baron's hunting lodge, only a few hundred yards from the pond, where we found a beautiful table, curiously furnished. In addition to the few plates necessary, every place had a small charcoal stove with a griddle on top, such as one would use in baking buckwheat or griddle cakes. The breasts of the ducks killed had been cut into thin slices and a plate of them served for each guest. There was also a small cup of soy, a Japanese sauce of the nature of Worcestershire, by each plate. When we were all assembled and seated we proceeded to cook our meal, each for himself. The slices of duck were first dipped in the soy and allowed to soak for a moment, when they were placed on the hot grill, cooked to taste, and eaten with bread and butter and washed down with champagne. All the ducks not consumed were taken back with us to Tokio for home consumption. Our return was made in less than an hour, showing how near to the heart of the great city the hunting had taken place.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### ORDERED TO HONOLULU

EVERYTHING being in readiness, we said good-bye to our families—we were not to see them again for many long months—and sailed from Yokohama in two divisions for Honolulu. Admiral Cooper, with the cruiser division, consisting of the New Orleans, flagship, the Cincinnati, and Albany, was to touch at Midway Island, where two colliers would meet him, coal, if necessary, and then join me at sea a few hundred miles from the Sandwich Islands. With the battleships Kentucky, Wisconsin, and Oregon under my immediate command, I would regulate my speed so as to make the rendezvous as ordered. My intention was to follow the great circle route between Yokohama and Honolulu, so as to economise coal, but I found later that I could not do this because of the heavy sea encountered. I had to run off a bit, but this made the ships much steadier, and, though we ran a longer course, we made better time.

After leaving Yokohama I set the speed for the battleships at twelve knots, and at this speed made half the distance to Honolulu, then changed it to thirteen knots, at which we ran the other half, thus doing the whole at a speed of twelve and one-half knots, which I believe to be the greatest speed at which a squadron

of battleships ever made so long a run. Once well clear of the land, I found a very heavy swell caused by bad gales in the Arctic. At the same time the wind blew with such force that the ships were made very uncomfortable. We had the long swell coming down from the far north and, in addition, the new sea kicked up by the prevailing wind. For nine days we ran with this sea on the quarter, gradually drawing astern until we were running before it. All this time the hatches abaft the superstructure were continually closed, as the seas broke completely over the after part of the ships. It was not safe to send a man onto the quarter-deck for fear that he would be washed overboard. We were steaming in column, each ship following the one ahead of her, four hundred yards apart, the Kentucky leading. As the flagship would settle down in the trough of the sea the others would be entirely out of sight, and when they were in the trough of the sea we were entirely out of sight to them. I had rarely seen such a heavy sea, and in order to determine, if possible, the height of the waves, I directed several officers to estimate it from the bridge of the Kentucky. The mean of their estimates gave *forty-five* feet as the vertical height of the waves.

The sea ran down when we passed the longitude of Midway Island, and the weather became as beautiful as one could ask. The cruiser squadron joined company at the time and place ordered, and the nine ships stood on to Honolulu, where they arrived without any accident of any kind twelve days after sailing from the coast of Japan. I wired my arrival to the Secretary of the Navy, and moored all the ships in the inner har-

bour. Coal was taken in at once, and I notified the department that I would be ready in twelve hours to proceed to sea. In reply I was informed that when in all respects ready I would return with the fleet to Manila, touching en route at the Island of Guam. Also, if I found no objection, I might, in accordance with the expressed wishes of the people of Honolulu, remain there four days, which I very gladly did.

Two unpleasant incidents marked the arrival of the fleet at Honolulu, but both of them were settled without much trouble. Our naval station was commanded by a flag officer with whom my personal relations were not particularly cordial. As said by a prominent western senator who was not on terms with one of his colleagues,

> "We do not speak as we pass by—
> Not me to him, or him to I."

The boarding officer who came to my flagship from the commandant requested that I would have the marine guard ready to land, as he feared trouble with the collector of customs of the port, who had that morning threatened to place custom-house guards on the wharf to prevent my men from smuggling. The wharf where two of the ships would moor was the property of the Navy Department, and this threat of the agent of another department of the government to practically take charge of it by placing guards on it had caused a bitter quarrel between the commandant, who was right in his contention, and the collector of customs, who was wrong in his. The ship was properly secured; the commandant had been officially received and had taken his

departure, after telling me of his troubles. The marines were ready to land if their services should be required, and I was eating my breakfast when the collector was ushered into my cabin. He was a pleasant-mannered man, tall and fine-looking, but the flush in his face indicated that he was labouring under excitement. I asked him to breakfast with me, which he declined. I then asked him to have a cigar, which he also declined. Then I requested him to state his business with me, which he proceeded to do.

He explained that some of the troops returning from the Philippines had caused trouble by smuggling Manila cigars into Honolulu. This was interesting, but not in any way my affair, as I made clear in a few words. Then he said that, fearing my men would do the same thing, he proposed to station his men so that they could prevent it. I pointed out to him that it would be necessary for me to remove, forcibly if need be, any of his guards found on naval ground. I asked him how long he had been in the employ of the United States government, and his answer was, as I recall it, about four years. I told him that I had been about forty years longer than he had, that I had tried to learn the laws of my country, and was under oath to see them enforced, just as he was, and that it seemed to me a most remarkable thing, almost an insult, for him to imply not only that I would not enforce the law with my men, but that I would admit that such was the case by allowing him to enforce it for me! And, further, that he expected me to place myself and all under my command in the category of smugglers.

This presentation of the case seemed to strike the

collector as reasonable, and he frankly said so. I called my flag lieutenant and directed him to make signal to the fleet:

"Commander-in-chief orders that commanding officers will be particularly careful that the revenue laws are not violated by those under their command."

The collector said that this was all that he could ask, that he was perfectly satisfied, and, further, that if any of the officers or men of the fleet had Christmas presents for their friends which they wished forwarded he would be glad to send them on without the payment of duty if presented at his office. In other words, he was a gentleman and most reasonable when properly approached. I never had a bit of trouble with him afterwards.

While the collector of customs was still talking with me a young man, quite a lad, thin and not overwell dressed, was brought to me by the officer of the deck. He wore no uniform except a cap, on which was a brass tag or plate with some inscription on it. He said that he came from the commissioner of immigration, who wished him to say to me that the immigration laws of the United States were in force in Honolulu, and that I must not permit any Chinese servants to land without a written permit from him. As can be easily imagined, this fairly took my breath away. We had come from the East, where Chinese were employed on board our ships as servants, without a chance to change them, and without an intimation that we would have trouble about them. In fact, at the moment when I received this word from the commissioner twenty-five or thirty Chinese stewards were actually on shore pro-

curing food for the thousands of hungry throats in the fleet. I told the young man with the brass-labelled cap to present my compliments to the commissioner of immigration, and say to him that every man in the fleet was a properly enlisted man in the navy of the United States, and that if he interfered with one of them I would put him where the dogs wouldn't bite him! When the youngster had gone, the collector, who had heard his message, said that I would probably have trouble with the commissioner, as he was disposed to make trouble at times.

I had come to Honolulu in obedience to orders from my superiors, and not to have trouble with any one—I was too busy for that kind of amusement—but I did not propose to have my business interfered with or permit it to be done to avoid trouble. If the commissioner wanted to force a row with me, the way was open for him to do so.

After finishing my breakfast, I wired the Secretary of the Navy regarding the action, or, rather, threatened action, of the commissioner, and suggested that the immigration laws should be suspended as far as they applied to the fleet during my stay in port. A few hours later the reply came:

"Secretary of Commerce and Labour has suspended operations of immigration laws as far as the fleet is concerned during your stay in Honolulu."

I received a note from the commissioner at my hotel that evening, stating that he would be on board my flagship at ten o'clock on the following morning for a conference with me. He did not state what he wished to confer about. I replied that I would call at his office

in the morning. I considered that a more desirable place to confer, because I could end the conference more expeditiously than in my cabin without giving offence. I could walk out when I had heard what the commissioner had to say!

At 9.30 the following morning, accompanied by my flag lieutenant, I called on him, and was received by the commissioner, who sat in his shirt sleeves, smoking a pipe, with his feet on top of his desk! He began by telling me just how he wished me to regulate the landing of the Asiatics in the fleet; that I would give each one a pass, send him, accompanied by an officer, to his office; that he would countersign my pass, etc., etc. When I had heard him as patiently as I could, I read him the telegram from the Secretary of Commerce and Labour, informed him that I did not require any assistance in the matter of landing those under my command, Asiatics included, wished him good-morning, and returned to my flagship. I never heard of him afterwards. When the fleet left we took with us every man we had when we came—not one deserted.

Our reception by the good people of Honolulu was delightful in every way. They entertained the officers and men royally. The streets of the city were constantly filled with bluejackets, to whom places of amusement were thrown open free of charge. Athletic sports were entered into with great spirit, not only by men of different ships, but with the residents, who played baseball so well that we found it impossible to win a game from them. Governor Carter not only entertained the officers with great hospitality, but he visited the field where the bluejackets were fighting for





United States Fleet at Honolulu.

supremacy in football and encouraged them by his presence. An old Yale player himself, he was good enough to say that we played a surprisingly fine, clean game. Everything was done to make our Christmas a merry one, and we appreciated the efforts of the kind-hearted people. In return for their courtesy we gave a ball, which I think was the finest thing of the kind I have ever seen. The two battleships, Kentucky and Wisconsin, were moored on opposite sides of the government pier. This was converted into a veritable flower garden, lighted by electric bulbs suspended from lines running between the mast heads of the two ships. Small tables were placed among the palms and flowers, and supper was served on these at midnight. Both ships were gorgeously dressed with flags and flowers and brilliantly lighted. Two fine bands provided music, and officers and men, all in white uniforms, received and entertained our guests. Dancing was kept up until daylight put an end to our frolic, which had been thoroughly enjoyed by all.

We left the harbour of Honolulu when the time given by the Navy Department had expired, and started on our way to Manila. The cruiser squadron, under command of Admiral Cooper, with two colliers, proceeded, by way of Midway Island, where the Cable Company had just established a station. I went with the battleships direct to Guam, where the cruisers were to join me, and after coaling make the best of their way at full speed to Manila. En route I touched at Wakes Island, one of our Pacific Ocean possessions of which very little is known by our people generally.

The U. S. S. Bennington, commanded by Com-

mander Taussig, on her way home from Manila after the Spanish War, touched at the island, and the American flag was hoisted. A copper plate, properly inscribed, was placed on the face of a large boulder at the foot of the flagstaff, and now occasionally a vessel of war lands an officer to see that this plate is still in place. The island is only a coral patch, rising twenty or thirty feet above water at its highest point. It contains probably thirty acres above water and twice as much more in sight, but not yet above water. Around the eastern, southern, and western sides the usual reef extends which protects the solid part from the heavy sea which always breaks with great force on the north and west sides, owing to the prevailing north-west winds, which often develop into furious gales. We approached from the south side of the islands, found good water close up to the land, and sent in two boats with officers and men to see what was going on. The sea was breaking furiously over the reefs, but where we were it was as smooth as the proverbial mill-pond. The boat landed at a convenient spot near the flagstaff, and after an absence of a few hours returned, bringing with them a boat load of Japanese fishermen.

The officer in charge of the landing party made an interesting report of what he had seen. Our plate was still in place, proclaiming to all the ownership of the island. A lagoon of considerable size and depth was found penetrating the highest part of the island, and containing a great variety of fishes, which could be plainly seen in the clear sea water. The highest parts of the island were covered with small, sturdy trees, and among these, in a protected place, the Japanese had

their camps, where they lived on fish and such tinned stores as remained of the supply that had been landed with them five months before. They managed to catch enough rain water to supply their needs. The head man of the party reported that they had been landed from a fishing schooner five months before, and that she would call for them in three or four months. Fifteen men composed the party, and they claimed to be securing birds' skins for the Paris market. They presented me with several very beautiful specimens. The island was the home of vast flocks of sea birds of many different varieties, which were killed at night with flat paddles in such number as required, and the skins removed and preserved during the daytime. Five or six thousand skins were on hand, ready for shipment. I was convinced that the real object sought was pearls, but I could find no evidence that pearl oysters had been taken, so had to accept the bird-skin story.

The Japanese in charge of the party came off and reported all his men well, except one, who was suffering from beri-beri, and that the only thing wanted, or, rather, the thing they wanted most, was cigarettes and tobacco. Our surgeon treated the sick man, and the ward-room mess gave them plenty of tobacco and fresh stores. The last I saw of them they were carrying their new-found treasures up to their camp, seemingly as happy as if they were at home, instead of on a desolate island in the middle of the Pacific, where they must remain for many weary months.

Unless natural causes fail, this island will continue to grow, and may some day become an important point in more ways than one. I watched it with keen interest

as we went on our way, and it gradually dropped below the horizon astern of us. I had a strong feeling that I should like to join the Japanese party and spend a few months with the birds and fishes. Robinson Crusoe still lingered in my mind; all the charm of his doings had not entirely faded from my memory, though they had been read to me when I was a small boy.

From Wakes Island to Guam was only a short run, and we soon covered the distance, passing as we did so over the breeding place of typhoons and hurricanes. It is now known that all the circular storms, called typhoons, which do such damage to the coasts of China and Japan, as well as the Philippine Islands, form in the tropical seas to the south of Guam, and then start on their deadly course. In their earlier days they do little harm in the islands, but when they recurve and come back, which they sometimes do, they are very destructive, leaving nothing but ruin in their wake. The observatory at Manila, owned and operated by Catholic priests, gives wonderfully accurate warnings of these storms. Their predictions are telegraphed all over the East, thus benefiting the men who go down to the sea in ships as well as those who dwell on shore. When wireless telegraphy has been further developed it is hoped that much greater good may be done.

We found the harbour at Guam a perfect one under ordinary circumstances, but when a severe typhoon comes twisting along very dangerous. By the expenditure of a reasonable sum of money it could be made perfectly safe at all times. Up to the present time Congress had refused appropriations for the purpose, and the harbour remains as it was when we captured the

island, or, rather, took possession of it, for there was no resistance from the Spaniards. The island is ruled by a naval officer who, under the title of governor, makes and unmakes laws as he may find it necessary. Our colliers were ready for us when we anchored, and while the ships were coaling I paid my respects to the governor. I found him in his capital, Agana, so ill that I ordered him home at once. Poor fellow! the trip was too much for him, and he died before reaching San Francisco.

The inhabitants of Guam are quiet and peaceable, but very poor. They live as best they can by fishing and cultivating cocoanuts. They sell the copra from the cocoanut trees when the nuts have been gathered, but a typhoon will, in an hour sometimes, destroy the entire crop, and then much misery follows. At the time of my visit the results of a storm that had swept over the island a year before were evident everywhere, but particularly so in the trees, which were uprooted and twisted out of shape on all sides. The people were struggling to live on their flocks of chickens and the little garden patches which they cultivated under the glaring tropical sun. It may be truly said that Guam is of little value to us, but it is equally true that it would be a serious threat to our interests in the East if it were held by any nation unfriendly to us. Therefore, it seems to me that it behooves us to make it safe. At present there is not a gun in position to defend it. Any one who wants it can take it in an hour. Should we defend it or give it up? To answer this question brings up another and greater question, What is to be our policy in the East? That some one else must answer.

From Guam we could reach Manila either by going around the north end of the island of Luzon or by passing through the straits of San Bernardino, thence inside through the islands. I preferred the latter, as I wished to judge the difficulties to be encountered by an enemy's fleet in case we ever had war, and to see what chance there would be for forts at prominent points. For two days before we arrived at the straits we ran in a dense fog, so that our position was determined by dead reckoning. At eight o'clock in the morning the navigators reported that we were within a few miles of the entrance, but the fog was so dense that nothing could be seen four hundred yards away. I had about made up my mind to change course and stand off shore, when I heard the familiar sound of surf ahead of us. We stood on, and in a few minutes made out the lighthouse, which gave us something to run by. In two hours we were inside. The fog lifted over the land, and we made an excellent run to Manila, where we anchored just after daylight, having entered, as Dewey did, in the dark. The cruisers followed the next day, having made a most successful full-speed run to test their engines.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### FROM HONG KONG TO NEW YORK

ONCE more back at our unsavoury anchorage in Manila Bay, we lost no time in preparing for the target practice that was to show the result of our long and faithful training. I called on Governor Taft at once, but found him far from well. He was suffering from a stomach trouble, brought on, no doubt, by the intense heat and the amount of work he was compelled to do. The question of settling for the church property in the Philippines was up for discussion and final adjustment, and this gave the governor great concern. The Papal delegate, Monsignore Guidi, did me the honour to call on me, showed great interest in my flagship and her men, and afterwards invited me to dine with him, which I did in company with Governor Taft, General Davis, and other distinguished men. I have never in my life tasted such Italian wine as was served on his table, except that used by the Duke of Abruzzi during the visit of the Italian ships to the Jamestown Exposition. When the church question had been finally settled the Filipinos understood pretty well what Monsignore Guidi thought of them. As he expressed it to me, " They are to be regarded as children in church matters as well as in statecraft."

A target range was laid out in Manila Bay, and for

several weeks nothing was done or thought of except target firing. While one ship was on the range the others were anchored so that officers and men could see the effect of the firing. While the spirit of rivalry ran high, every ship that made a good score was generously applauded by all the others. My flag lieutenant, Chapin, was chief umpire for all the firing, and witnessed every shot fired by the fleet. Every possible precaution was taken against accidents of all kinds, and not a single man was seriously hurt during the practice. Lieutenant Evans, aide on my staff, served as target umpire during the entire practice. He not only counted the hits, but repaired all targets, which, owing to the heavy sea at times experienced, was most difficult and dangerous work. Wet to the skin most of the time, and with hands and face blistered by the sun, he pluckily stuck to his job until the last shot had been fired. The new Merritt sights gave great satisfaction, and I immediately ordered them fitted to all turret guns where this had not already been done. After the firing was completed, it was thought that the Kentucky had won the battleship trophy, but later it was found, in Washington, that the coveted prize went to the Oregon by a very close margin. It certainly reflected great credit on the officers and men of that ship to win, handicapped as they were in many ways. The firing of all ships was excellent, when we consider that they had just completed an ocean run such as never before attempted by the vessels of any other navy. It must also be considered, in making up the account, that most of the training of gun pointers had been done at sea in rough water.

Many reports by able officers or boards of officers

had been sent to Washington showing the importance of establishing a fine naval station at Olongapo, in Subig Bay, about fifty miles from Manila. The Spaniards had recognised the value of the location by making it their main naval station in the islands. They were removing the machinery from Cavité to the new buildings at Olongapo when the war came on and we took possession. Many of the buildings, which were of fine construction and design, were badly damaged by our gun fire, but we patched them up and managed to use them, hoping that Congress would give us money for a complete plant. The money, however, has never been appropriated, and we are as far from a naval station in the East now as we were a month after Manila was captured. The same influence is always at work to keep the station at Cavité—it succeeded with the Spaniards, and, so far, it has succeeded with us. The people of Manila want the money the station brings rather than have it spent at Olongapo. Practically all the commanders-in-chief who have looked carefully into the subject have recommended Olongapo. One of them was frank enough to say, "Olongapo is unquestionably the place for the station, but I hope it will not be established there until I am relieved!" The attractions of the Army and Navy Club at Manila and the pleasures of social life in the city are in strong contrast with the isolation of Olongapo, and they have undoubtedly had their effect. Finally, the opinion of officers of the army to the effect that they cannot defend Subig Bay against an enemy with less than one hundred thousand men seems to have settled the question, and if we have any naval base in the East, it must be near Manila, where it

will necessarily be exposed to fire in case of war. We are not assured that the army can defend Manila with one hundred thousand men, or, indeed, any other port in the Philippines. And yet the opinions of able naval men about a naval station are set aside and their advice not taken when they assert, without serious contradiction, that no power can hold Manila Bay with an enemy in possession of Subig Bay. It is Santiago and Guantanamo over again. When Sampson occupied Guantanamo the fate of Santiago was decided.

I received cable instructions when I returned to Manila, to examine Olongapo and see if a suitable site could be found for a coal depot to contain one hundred and twenty-five thousand tons of coal. This was done immediately by imposing much extra work on officers who were engrossed with their target practice, and full reports, with plan drawings, sent to the Navy Department. After years of waiting, the depot was built, and we have that much of a naval station at least. One or two more scares over war with Japan or some other nation may bring the rest of it. We seem to realise our necessities more keenly under threat, but it costs more in the end.

As the end of January came it was plain to all that war between Russia and Japan was a question of days only. We had one vessel, one gunboat, the Helena, in mid dock at Newchwang, frozen in so completely that it was impossible to move her, and another, the Vicksburg, at Chemulpo, where she had gone with a transport to land one hundred marines for the protection of our legation at Seoul. All the other vessels were in Manila except the station ships at Canton and Shang-

hai and the two small gunboats on river service in China. A report came that the Russians were forcibly detaining an American ship at Port Arthur, and to verify this and give proper protection I sent Admiral Cooper with the cruiser division to Shanghai. I directed him to proceed to Port Arthur with his flagship and report to me and to the Navy Department the exact conditions he might find. At the same time I wired Washington, and in return received an order not to send any vessel of the fleet north of Shanghai! Admiral Cooper was intercepted and sent to Shanghai, but before he arrived there another order came by wire to send a suitable vessel to cruise between Chefoo and Chemulpo to keep in touch with our minister to Korea in case the cables were cut. It looked to us on the spot as if Washington was getting things a bit mixed up! We had a vessel at Chemulpo—in fact, two of them, one a transport—but I immediately sent another, and did all in my power to carry out the wishes of the Department as far as I knew them.

In the meantime our gunboat at Newchwang became an object of deep interest. The commanding officer wired me that the Russian authorities had decided to block the channel, and for that purpose had loaded one hundred junks with stone and would sink them in a few days. Newchwang was a Chinese treaty port open to the commerce of the world, and China was not at war with either Russia or Japan! One of our national vessels was in the port, lawfully there, and our commercial interests were great. If the channel should be blocked with stone-laden vessels, the Helena would be rendered useless and our commercial interests seriously

hampered. I therefore wired the captain of the Helena: "Newchwang treaty port; channel must not be obstructed." This message was, of course, shown to our consul, and its purport became known to the Russians. I received great abuse from their newspapers, but they hesitated to sink the stone barges, and eventually gave up the idea. Whether my message had any influence with them I have no means of knowing. Of course, I wired Washington what I had done. Three days elapsed, and then came this answer:

"Neither force nor threat of force must be used to prevent the blocking of the channel to Newchwang."

The moment the ice could be broken I had the Helena relieved from her dangerous position.

On the 8th of February the war cloud burst, and Russia and Japan found themselves entered on a struggle the like of which has not been seen in modern times. The first act in the drama was startling. By it the world was shown a new method of opening hostilities. A Japanese admiral, before a declaration of war, sent a note to the captain of a Russian cruiser lying in a neutral port telling him that unless he left his anchorage before a certain hour he would sink him! The proposition was so startling, so new, so at variance with custom and international law, that men did not believe it was serious until the result of the fight that followed a few hours later was flashed over the wire. The Russian cruiser Variag and the gunboat Koritz were anchored in the harbour of Chemulpo, Korea. At the same time, in the same harbour, in close proximity to these, were anchored one American gunboat and one transport, one English cruiser, one French cruiser, and

one German cruiser, so that the harbour was fairly well crowded with war vessels of various nations—all these under treaty rights in a neutral port. The Japanese squadron, composed of a number of cruisers, anchored eight or ten miles down the river below Round Island, and from that point the admiral sent a torpedo boat with an officer bearing the note above mentioned to the captain of the Variag. Why these Russian ships were left in a river from which they could not possibly escape when war came, and why Japan deliberately violated the neutrality of Korea, are questions for some one else to answer. They are not pertinent to my story, nor do I know what advice, if any, was given to the captain of the Variag when he showed the note to the other captains. He did not consult the American captain, so far as I am informed, but what actually took place we know all about. It would have been most instructive for naval men to know what would have happened if the Russian captain had simply "called the Japanese bluff," for such we must regard it, and remained quietly at his anchorage among the foreign fleet without making any answer to the note! It may be doubted that the Japanese would have fired a single shot at him under such conditions.

When the torpedo boat had disappeared on her return to the Japanese squadron, the Variag was cleared for action, got under way, and steamed toward the Japanese squadron, which was drawn up in battle formation. A short, sharp engagement followed, and the Variag, severely punished by Japanese shells, returned to her anchorage, badly listed to port and on fire aft. Many of her officers and men had been killed and a

large number of them wounded. As soon as her anchor was down, her captain asked that his crew might be taken on board the various foreign ships, and that the captain of the English cruiser would fire a few shells through the bottom of the Variag in order that she would surely sink before the Japanese could capture her! The English captain declined to fire, as requested, but the crew was taken off by him, assisted by the French and German vessels. The American captain offered medical aid and assistance, but declined to receive any of the crew on board, on the ground that Chemulpo was a neutral port, and that the Russian wounded could be cared for in the hospitals on shore and the well men looked after by the Russian minister. This position was so evidently right and sound that it met with the prompt approval of the commander-in-chief, and afterwards the home government.

The sea valves of the Variag were opened, and she sank shortly after the crew had been removed. When she took the bottom she turned over on one side, and remained in that position until the Japanese raised her, two years later, and transferred her to their flag. The Koritz was set on fire and, after burning a short time, her magazine exploded, completely destroying her.

On the following morning, February 9th, some time before sunrise, the Japanese torpedo boats attacked the Russian fleet, anchored in two lines off Port Arthur. Most of the Russian officers were on shore at a ball, still maintaining, I suppose, that Japan was afraid to attack them. The torpedo attack, though well planned and gallantly executed, resulted in little serious harm

to the fleet. Three ships were so damaged between the torpedoes and the rocks on which they were run in the confusion following the attack that they were out of commission for a short time, but they were all repaired and ready when again called on for service, which I think conclusively proves two things: first, that the torpedo failed to do what its admirers had claimed for it, and, second, that the Russian workmen who did the repair work were excellent mechanics, or they could not have accomplished so much with the tools they had. The torpedo established a record for inefficiency which it maintained to the end of the war. Early in the month of March orders came for me to turn over the command of the station to Admiral Cooper in April, and then return in my flagship to New York. I left Manila during the latter part of May for Hong Kong, where the Kentucky was placed in dock, had her bottom cleaned and painted, and such repairs made as were necessary for the run home. In order that the Department might learn the speed a division of battleships could make, I ordered that the voyage home should be made as nearly as possible at the speed a squadron of such ships could maintain over the same route. When all was in readiness I transferred the command, as directed, and got under way for Colombo, in the island of Ceylon. Rear-Admiral Yates Sterling succeeded to the command of the cruiser squadron, and another flag officer was ordered to the Philippine division.

The run to Colombo was made without stopping at Singapore. In the straits of Malacca we passed during the night the division of United States torpedo-boat destroyers on its way from New York to Manila, con-

voyed by the transport Buffalo. They seemed in good condition after their long cruise, and eventually arrived at their destination, where they have since been held ready for service.

It is scarcely possible to imagine a smoother sea than we had on this run. The monsoon had not yet shown any force, and I am sure one could have made the trip in a shell boat, so far as the sea was concerned. On arrival at Colombo, coal was taken in at once and the men given liberty.

After making the necessary official calls and looking through the shops, I ran up to Kandy, one of the most beautiful trips in the world. Aside from the beauty of the scenery, I was greatly interested in the tea farms from which Sir Thomas Lipton furnishes tea to the world. The railroad, which gradually climbs to an elevation of six thousand feet, is one of the most wonderful ever constructed. At one point the train on which we were travelling stopped on a shelf of rock while we enjoyed for a few moments the view from the car windows. The rocky mountain rose sheer four thousand feet, so abruptly that a stone dropped from our position would land in the valley below. So far as one could see, there was one vast tea farm covering the entire country. At Kandy we found very comfortable quarters at an inn on the borders of a fine artificial lake, which furnished a plentiful water supply to the town. Some distance below the lake there was a large pool where the sacred elephants were taken for their daily bath, when those so disposed could view the herd of great beasts as they enjoyed their frolic. One object of special interest in Kandy is the tooth of Buddha. I

gave little time to this fraud, but hurried off to the botanical garden, the finest probably in the world, containing, as it does, every variety of shrub or tree of the tropic and temperate zones. I spent hours among the most gorgeous and beautiful flowers I had ever seen. The trees were of intense interest, among them every variety, from the deadly upas to the one from which cocaine is made. There were fine specimens of all the spice trees known in the tropics and many of the hardwood varieties.

At the inn we enjoyed all the usual luxuries of the East Indies—curries and spiced dishes for dinner, and in the evening the inevitable snake charmer with his hideous trained cobra. During the day we were beset by the gang of jewel merchants who live on the lamblike globe trotters. They offered beautiful stones at exorbitant sums, but, finding that we had been in the East before, they came down in their prices from pounds sterling to shillings for the glass trinkets which at first were rubies or diamonds.

On my return to Colombo I visited some of the beautiful shops where real gems are sold. In one of them I saw a bowl of pearls emptied out on a piece of velvet to show their beauty. The contents of the bowl were valued at a little over one million dollars! I had no money to invest in pearls, but I certainly did enjoy seeing them, without the least envy for the more fortunate ones who could own them. At one shop I was shown the latest find in the way of a valuable pearl. The pearl-oyster business in Ceylon leads to considerable gambling in an innocent way. The oysters, after being gathered, are brought into market and sold, after

which they are examined for pearls. Persons so disposed buy them, as they would buy lottery tickets, for the chance of finding something valuable. A native boy had spent all the small change he had in buying a few oysters at a time, but for a long time found no pearls of value. Just before we arrived, having a few cents in hand, he had bought two oysters. The first one he opened contained the pearl shown me. It was perfectly round, of exquisite lustre, and valued at ten thousand dollars! The boy was educated in pearls, and only gave up his find on the payment of eight thousand dollars! It would be interesting to trace the subsequent history of this lad to see if he becomes a "pearl king," after the fashion of some of our mining "kings" who made their first "strike" in the same lucky fashion.

From Colombo to Port Said we had delightful weather, very hot in the Red Sea, but with no gales to bother us. The passage through the Suez Canal was successfully made without any injury from grounding or collision. After the first few hours it became monotonous, and we were glad when the Mediterranean showed blue in the distance. When we had coaled and bought as many curios as we thought the customs officers would allow us to land at New York, we left the coast of Egypt and arrived at Naples on April 23d.

Passing through the straits of Messina, which have since witnessed the destruction of a beautiful Italian city and the greatest loss of life ever caused by an earthquake, I was struck with the wonderful force of the current. At times it was all the powerful engines of the Kentucky could do to keep her on her course. She

yawed and reeled about like a drunken ship, but she finally pulled through without accident. How different must have been the conditions surrounding St. Paul when in this locality he performed that wonderful piece of seamanship, "anchoring by the stern ship," as described in the Acts of the Apostles! As we passed Stromboli, that veteran in the earthquake world was growling and smoking, occasionally throwing masses of stones and ashes into the air. The sides of the mountain were beautifully cultivated where the lava would allow vines to grow, and the inhabitants of the villages about its base seemed to be following their avocations without fear of danger.

Our trip to Naples was for the purpose of obtaining coal, which was cheaper there than at any other convenient point. I was surprised, on anchoring at seven o'clock on the morning of April 29th, to find myself in the presence of a large assemblage of warships. The officer who boarded us informed me that the Italian and French fleets were assembled in honour of the President of France, who was present as the guest of the King of Italy, and that the two rulers would review them at ten o'clock that morning.

Feeling that I might be unwelcome at such a moment, I explained that nothing was known of the visit of the President when I left the canal, and that I would go to sea at once until after the ceremony, if so desired. I was informed that we were very welcome, and that the minister of marine and the admiral commanding hoped I would join in the festivities.

The Kentucky was given a berth next the French flagship. We dressed ship at eight o'clock, and there-

after followed the motions of the French admiral. At ten o'clock a fine new Italian battleship came out from the inner harbour, flying the French flag at one mast head and the Italian at the other. Then the guns began to boom, and for more than an hour it sounded as if a battle were being fought. The reviewing party twice passed the Kentucky, and each time a superb band played our national air, while hundreds of glasses inspected us. Our band played first the French and then the Italian national airs, and officers and men in full dress saluted and stood at attention until the next ship in the line saluted. When the review was over, the President boarded one of his own ships, and the French fleet got under way and sailed for home. During the afternoon the Kentucky was moored in the inner harbour between Sir Thomas Lipton's yacht, the Erin, and the King's yacht, the battleship Regina Margarita. Coal lighters were taken alongside and all preparations made for coaling. After the inevitable round of calls, I was at liberty to go on shore for one of the best dinners I ever enjoyed.

About eleven o'clock the next day, while coaling from lighters on both sides, and with the coal dust so thick that one could hardly breathe, an officer in full dress came alongside and said that the King was coming to visit me. I explained that we were in the midst of coaling, and asked when his Majesty was coming. Much to my surprise, the officer answered, "He is coming now; will be here in a few minutes!" It was one of those surprises that some practical rulers like to spring on people, that they may see things not shown when on dress parade. As the King came alongside, our

men dropped the coal whips and stood at attention. I explained the situation and asked to be excused for the appearance of my ship, to which his Majesty replied that he was most anxious to see just how we took in coal so rapidly, and in turn asked me to excuse him for coming at such a time. He wanted to see everything in the ship, and he did. There was not a thing that escaped his keen eyes, from the bayonet scabbards of the marines to the superimposed turrets. After a most thorough inspection, he expressed great admiration for the Kentucky and took his departure. Two days later I dined with his Majesty in the palace at Naples, where I met many distinguished men, among them the marine artist Martino, who so graciously decorated my menu cards years before when I was giving a dinner to his Majesty the Emperor of Germany. The dinner was, of course, excellent in every way, particularly in the wines. The only lasting impression on my mind is about the toothpicks, which were served when the cloth was removed. It was the first time I had ever seen this done at a state dinner. They were medically treated with some chemical which coloured one-half the pick black, and were served in their paper envelopes, bearing the royal coat of arms. I was unfavourably impressed with the number of guards we had to pass on our way from the palace until we were received by the King. There were three, I think, before we left our carriage, and then one on each floor as we ascended to the reception room, which was in one of the upper stories. On asking some question about it, I was told that the King was very democratic and did not approve of the guards, but that it was considered necessary to have them,

though both he and the Queen were very popular with the people. At times his Majesty would elude them and take long walks by himself or with some chosen companion.

The day after leaving Naples we had a good look at the British fleet, which was having manœuvres about the Island of Corsica. We came upon them entirely by accident just after daylight, and could not avoid seeing what they were doing. I passed close enough to the commander-in-chief to exchange salutes with him and count his twenty-four battleships and two divisions of cruisers. They made a very fine appearance, but the cruisers were rolling so badly that their gun fire would not have proved very destructive, while they exposed their under-water bodies to an alarming extent. We watched them with longing eyes, and wondered if we might ever see such a fleet under our own dear flag.

A stop of two days was made at Gibraltar, and then we ran down to Madeira, filled up with coal, and started for a record run to New York. For a few days we averaged about fifteen knots, then the sea became so heavy that I had to slow to twelve knots to prevent washing everything off the forward bridge. The sea soon moderated, however, and we again made our best speed. On arrival in New York we found that we had the record for battleships—none had ever before made such good time for so long a distance. With the exception of a broken cylinder ring, which delayed us two hours and a half after leaving Madeira, not an accident of any kind had marred the trip from Hong Kong.

When we arrived it was the intention of the Depart-

ment to place the Kentucky out of commission, but an inspection showed that this was not necessary, though a number of repairs were required to keep her in service. These were made, and the ship served until the summer of 1909 before she was placed in reserve.

## CHAPTER XXV

### IN COMMAND OF NORTH ATLANTIC SQUADRON

EARLY in June I was relieved from sea duty and again ordered to the Lighthouse Board. I was immediately elected chairman of the board, and took up the duties which were, next to going to sea, my choice. The Lighthouse establishment has always been a branch of the Treasury Department, but during my absence in the East this had been changed, and it was now a part of the newly organised Department of Commerce and Labour. Mr. Metcalf, formerly a member of Congress from California, was its Secretary. He afterwards became Secretary of the Navy for a time during the last half of Mr. Roosevelt's term as President.

When I received orders to the Lighthouse Board I expected to remain on that duty for at least three years. I had just completed the usual command of two years for an admiral afloat. It was, therefore, reasonable to assume that I would not again be called on for sea service, and on this assumption I settled down to my new duties, taking up many things in which I was deeply interested. I was again impressed with the dignity and responsibility of the position I was given. There is no other position a naval officer can hold on shore which, with so much useful work, gives opportunity for so

much pleasure. My intention was to remain as chairman of the board until I retired—even longer if I might be permitted to do so.

In December, 1904, rumours reached me that I was to have another sea command. I paid no attention to these reports for a time, but they were so persistent that I asked the chief of the Bureau of Navigation if he could tell me what they amounted to. His reply was that it was his intention to ask the President to order me to command the North Atlantic Squadron, unless I seriously objected. No flag officer can "seriously object" to a command afloat with safety to his reputation. I informed the chief that I was subject to the orders of the Secretary of the Navy, that I never sought orders, and never declined nor hesitated to obey them when received. A few days later the Secretary, Mr. Paul Morton, sent for me. He said that the President had spoken of giving me the command of the home squadron, and asked if I would like to have it. Of course, I replied that nothing would suit me better, and that I should consider it a great honour. This settled the matter, and I was directed later to proceed to Pensacola, Florida, and on March 28th relieve Rear-Admiral Barker of his command. This ended my connection with the Lighthouse Board, for I knew that when my turn again came for shore duty I should be on the retired list.

Long before my orders were actually issued I began my search for suitable staff officers. My new duties I knew would be more exacting than any I had before performed, and I was sure they would steadily increase with the growth of the fleet. New battleships

were being rapidly constructed, and would be added to the North Atlantic Squadron as fast as completed.

Captain J. E. Pillsbury, Assistant to the chief of the Bureau of Navigation, was selected as chief of my staff. No officer in the navy had a better reputation than he, and I was most fortunate in securing his detail. He served his full term with me, and I am safe in saying that the fine condition of the squadron was due in great measure to his untiring efforts and devotion to duty. For flag secretary, a most difficult post to fill and the most confidential on the staff, I secured the services of Lieutenant-Commander Carlos B. Brittain, who had been the ordnance officer of the Kentucky in the East. He was admirably fitted for the work, combining, as he did, excellent judgment with a cordial manner, which went far toward smoothing over the rough path he sometimes had to follow. His loyalty to me and interest in my success were equalled only by his conscientiousness as an officer and his efforts for efficiency. Everything pointed to Lieutenant-Commander Mark Bristol as fleet ordnance officer if I could secure him in that capacity. He was on duty in the Ordnance Department, where he had had long service, and was at the time in charge of the torpedo branch. I succeeded eventually in having him ordered, and the excellent work he afterwards did showed the wisdom of my choice. Lieutenant Crosley, a young officer of fine reputation, was selected for flag lieutenant, and did excellent work until succeeded by Lieutenant Ridley McLean, who had served with me in China. His fine work on the gun sights of the Kentucky and his general knowledge of ordnance rendered him a most valuable

assistant. He afterwards became fleet ordnance officer, and in that capacity rendered service which in any other navy would have secured for him promotion in rank. Two fine young officers, Lieutenants Weaver and Crafts, were selected—the former for fleet athletic officer and the latter for aide and signal officer.

With this staff of excellent assistants, I left Washington for Pensacola, feeling sure that many thorns would be removed from my path by their aid and loyalty. The railroad trip to the south was a hard, dusty one, and we arrived at our destination early in the morning, tired and very hungry. We entered the dining-room of the uninviting-looking tavern with happy thoughts of delicious tropical fruits and dainty southern breakfast foods. One of the party called the head waiter and said:

"What fruits have you?"

"'Tain't no fruits! How will you have yo' eggs?" was the reply, and eggs were what we had for breakfast! And those eggs must have been laid by some peculiar kind of a bird, judging by their taste. Even in China I never encountered any like them. We were also served with a black fluid they called coffee, and it also was in a class by itself. Our breakfast proved a most disappointing failure. We left the hotel, hoping to find something fit to eat on board the flagship, in which we were not disappointed.

The squadron had been engaged in evolutions in the West Indies during the winter, and had just arrived at Pensacola for target practice and to give liberty to the men. The target range off the port had been established, and two ships were firing at it. The other ships

of the squadron, six battleships and a few cruisers, were anchored in the harbour.

I had selected the battleship Maine for my flagship, and requested her captain to have a boat at the landing at eight o'clock to meet me and take us, with our baggage, on board. When we drove down into the narrow, tumbledown-looking dock, I was so shocked and disheartened by what I saw that I felt as if I must at once retrace my steps to Washington and tell the Secretary that I did not want the command of the North Atlantic Squadron! Two or three hundred liberty men were being taken off to their ships, most of them under the influence of liquor, and many of them howling, swearing drunk. All the "tough" class, men and women, black and white, for many miles round Pensacola had assembled there to make the bluejackets enjoy themselves and to secure the money they knew would be freely spent. There were no places of amusement for the men to frequent—nothing, in fact, for them to do; so they fell easy victims to the gang of thieves. Of course, there were no quarters in the town for so many disreputable newcomers, and many of them actually lived in tents pitched on vacant lots about the lower parts of the town. In all my experience I had never seen anything to compare with my first view of the men I was about to take under my command!

Two perfectly legitimate and proper influences had combined to bring the fleet to Pensacola, and neither of them was responsible for the disreputable condition found existing on my arrival. The merchants and tradesmen knew how freely sailors spend their money, and they wanted what they could get of it. The gen-

tlemen and ladies of the city wanted to entertain the officers and to enjoy their society. Both classes were actuated by motives which no one could question, and both were thoroughly disgusted at conditions which they were apparently helpless to change. The tradesmen were reasonable in the prices they charged our men, and I know of my own personal knowledge that the hospitality of the people of the city to our officers was without bounds. I feel sure that no officers of any navy, under any circumstances, were ever more royally entertained than were those of the North Atlantic Squadron by the warm-hearted people of Pensacola. Yet, notwithstanding all this, I made up my mind that, if I could prevent it, the ships should never anchor in that harbour again.

The city was not adapted to liberty for the kind of men we want in the navy—that is to say, not for any considerable number of them at one time; it could not absorb them or give them any reasonable pleasure for their money. We might land twenty thousand men in New York city and after two hours be unable to find a dozen of them, but if we landed two hundred in Pensacola one hundred and fifty of them would always be in evidence one way or another. In the one case there were various and ample forms of amusement and in the other none. The police of the southern town either were not competent to deal with the bluejackets or their own disreputable "toughs," and all the better class of citizens knew this to be the case.

The trouble was not due to the people of Pensacola, who only tried to get what they thought they were entitled to, without considering or foreseeing the conditions

that would follow. The trouble really was in the Navy Department, where officials allowed themselves to be persuaded by senators and representatives into doing what a little thought would have shown them would lead to undesirable consequences. The congressmen were right, from their standpoint, in taking the action they did in behalf of their constituents. The Navy Department was absolutely wrong in yielding to such demands unless it could be shown that the service benefited by it; that it was the best that could be done for us. It would have been at once apparent to any one who gave the subject serious consideration that a better target range than the one in use off Pensacola could be found; and yet we continued to use this one. Why did we do so? It must have been for some other reason than for target practice. Was it because the city of Pensacola was a suitable place to grant liberty to our men? I think I have shown that this was not the case. Was it not that the merchants and tradesmen of the city might make a certain sum of money out of the men of the fleet? And if this was the reason for sending the ships there, why not be honest about it and say so?

Target practice off Pensacola was completed about the middle of April. The results obtained were satisfactory with regard to rapidity and accuracy of fire with most of the guns, but the means used in many cases were lamentably poor and inefficient. This was particularly the case with the gun sights; they were in the same unsatisfactory condition as those in China in 1903. A careful inspection of the ships showed that good scores had been made in some cases by securing the

sights with twine and sealing wax, so that they could not jump out of adjustment after each shot. When this was not done, the sights jumped so badly that the firing was almost useless so far as any practical benefit was concerned. Lost motion in the training gears was so great that constant aim was impossible. Everything possible was done to correct this, but a fault in design could not be overcome on board ship, no matter how clever the men might be; the necessary tools and material were not at hand for such work. Officers and men were enthusiastic in their efforts, but they could not be expected to continue so under such discouraging conditions.

Lieutenant-Commander Bristol set to work at once on a new design for gun sights, and when we reached New York, a few months later, plans were ready for approval. The chief of ordnance, Rear-Admiral Mason, one of my old captains in China, and one of the ablest men who ever filled the office, was fully alive to the importance of the work, but willingness is one thing and ability to do quite another. New sights for ships not yet completed could be made in the Washington Navy Yard and held in readiness for them, but to fit sights to all the guns of eight battleships in commission and have them ready for the next target practice was quite a different proposition. I was satisfied from my experience in the East that it could be successfully done only if proper methods were pursued; if a lot of red tape could be cut away. In this my fleet ordnance officer concurred. A contract was entered into with the Bliss Company, of Brooklyn, a very reliable firm, who agreed to do the work in a certain time under the

general direction and supervision of Lieutenant-Commander Bristol.

Government work by contract is rarely completed on time, because the penalty clause of the contract is not enforced, as a rule. It is sometimes done by the head of a department, but the money so held up is always paid eventually. Congress discovers some good reason for the delay, votes the necessary money, and the contractor escapes without punishment. The case of our gun sights was not an exception. We did all we could to expedite the work, we begged and pleaded, even used strong language, but to no purpose. When we sailed for the West Indies in November, only a portion of the guns had the new sights furnished; most of them were in a partially completed condition. We took to sea with us thirty men from the contractor's shops, who worked night and day, assisted by the well-trained mechanics of the ships. Just one week before the squadron went onto the target range the last of the sights was tested and found right. The work done by the fleet ordnance officer during all this time was enough to break down half a dozen ordinary men, but fortunately he was not one of the breaking-down kind.

The torpedo boats and destroyers I found in unsatisfactory condition. This was particularly the case with the flotilla of destroyers attached to the squadron. Officers and men were discouraged because they were not allowed to perform their proper functions as destroyers. They had been used as despatch and mail boats to carry messages or mails to and from the fleet and convey soiled linen to and from the laundries, but their work as torpedo-boat destroyers had been sadly

neglected. Their contract speed was from twenty-five to thirty knots, and they were kept cruising at about ten, so that no one knew just how fast they could steam or whether their engine-room forces were efficient or otherwise. As soon as I could take the matter up, I ordered the mail and laundry business to stop, laid out torpedo targets, and started the boats on a course of real torpedo work. While convinced that they never could in time of war do the wonderful things that had been promised for them, I was satisfied that conveying mail and washed clothes was not the way to develop what they really could do.

The festivities of Pensacola closed early in May, and the squadron sailed for the north. It was the last time we were to try target practice in that locality. I was soundly abused by the people and press of the city for the change that came, but, feeling that I was doing the best for the service, I submitted to it in silence. I had received the greatest courtesy and kindness from the good people of Pensacola, and had for them only sentiments of friendship, but I did not consider their locality a good one for target practice nor their city a suitable place to give liberty to a large number of enlisted men, and I acted in accordance with those convictions.

The eight battleships composing the squadron passed out over the bar without grounding, though some of them stirred up the mud. When every one was ready I formed them in column three hundred yards apart and started north at a speed of twelve knots. The usual distance from ship to ship—that is, from the foremast of one ship to the foremast of the next astern—in

cruising formation is four hundred yards, but I made it three hundred because we had been a long time at anchor, and both officers and men had grown a bit careless. At three hundred yards the squadron was compact, and with my glasses I could see what was being done on each ship. At first I could tell that the officers were somewhat nervous, from the way the ships yawed about, but this passed away in a few days. The squadron had been commanded by very able flag officers, and the nervousness I speak of was on the part of officers who were, either as captains or junior officers, in charge of a battleship for the first time in fleet formation. A pleasant run of six days, most of the time in the Gulf Stream, brought us to our destination. The ships were at once distributed to the navy yards where they were to be overhauled and made ready for the extended drills which were to take place in the late summer and autumn. The War College at Newport had submitted certain plans to the board, which in turn sent them on to me for trial. Of these, for obvious reasons, I cannot write.

The Navy Department was anxious to have fleet drills instead of the squadron evolutions which had been the custom in our service. I gave my attention to the necessary regulations for this, as well as the programme of work to be followed. For fleet work one must have a fleet of ships, and this was promised as soon as the vessels should be available. Those I had were in need of repairs, and work on them was ordered at once.

The question of annual repairs to ships on the home station is a most serious and puzzling one. On foreign

stations it is simple and easily solved. All ships on these stations are supposed to be self-supporting, and they are so to a great extent; their own mechanics are able to do most of the work. If beyond them, it is well and cheaply done by contract. The commander-in-chief of the home station is constantly urged by the Department to make his ships self-sustaining; it is a favourite term, often employed. The bureau chiefs, on the other hand, do not wish him to do this, but never say so plainly. They hold that unless the ships are sent to the yards for repairs every year they cannot have an efficient working force when called upon, and they certainly have reasons on their side of the argument. If the commander-in-chief does what he is officially directed to do, the navy yards run down in efficiency and are not in condition to do good, quick work when an emergency arises. If the repair work could be done at the yards where the ships were built, it would seem to do away with this difficulty, but then we should run the risk of having the shipyards combine and charge unreasonable prices for the work. This may seem, at first glance, a reflection on the shipbuilders, but it is not really so; it is only a reflection on business methods. If all the armour plants in the country can submit the same figures, the same bid to a cent, in reply to advertisements for armour, why could not shipbuilders do the same for repairs? The guessing could be done the same in one case as well as in the other.

So the commander-in-chief must do the repairs to the fleet with his own force, and at the same time have work enough for the navy yards at least once in each year. His lot in this respect is not a happy one. The

whole question is a complicated one, not easy of solution. We much prefer to do the repair work with our own men on board ship when it can be done, for the reason that it is more satisfactorily done in this way. Long experience has taught us that men who have to use machines, who live with them, in fact, are more careful and accurate in repairing them than those who never work with them. I could cite many cases to prove this—cases where lives of men have been placed in jeopardy by some careless navy-yard workmen, but the yards must be ready in cases of emergency, and to have them so the men must have steady employment of some kind.

Eight battleships and six destroyers were ready for sea at the end of November, and I sailed with them for the West Indies, where I was to remain during the winter months. To test the sea endurance of the destroyers, I kept them with the fleet for the run of seventeen hundred miles. The weather for the first two days was very fine and the sea smooth; then the wind shifted into the south-west and blew hard enough to kick up quite a rough sea, causing the destroyers to roll and pitch and take the water over them in solid masses. The battleships were, of course, entirely comfortable under such conditions, but the destroyers thrashed about until all the new men of their crews were useless because of seasickness. To make matters better for them, I ordered the destroyers to take station under the lea of the big ships and steam along close to them, and thus made better weather of it. When we finally arrived at our destination all of them were in fairly good condition, except one, and her troubles were di-

rectly due to careless work at the navy yards where she had been repaired. While the boats were ready for service after their shaking up, the officers and men were ready for a good long rest. They were worn out with the discomforts of the trip, and in many cases unfit for duty. This will always be the result, in my judgment, of a cruise of any considerable length in these small vessels. In time of war the excitement and danger of the service will keep officers and men keyed up, but in times of peace they will not stand much cruising in rough water. If they are to keep company with the fleet, they must be larger, stronger, and more comfortable for their crews than those we now have. A vessel of one thousand tons displacement seems to me to be about what we need.

Our first anchorage was in Target Bay, on the south side of the island of Culebra, one of a group we acquired as a result of the Spanish War. It is only eighteen miles from the Danish island of St. Thomas, which we have so often tried to purchase because of its supposed value as a naval base. The position of Culebra is such that it could be made to command one of the direct passages from the north through the West Indies to the Caribbean Sea and the north coast of Central America. As a naval base in time of war it would be of great practical value if properly fortified and provisioned, but, owing to one cause and another, nothing has ever been done there except to mount a few small guns and accumulate coal enough for the gunboats on patrol duty in the West Indies. In its present condition, if war should come suddenly—and in future it seems probable that wars will come in that

way—this island would cause us great anxiety, because a superior naval force could, and would, seize it and make it their base of supplies for operations in the West Indies.

As a point from which to operate cruisers, torpedo boats, and submarines, Culebra has advantages over any other I know of. There is a landlocked harbour in the eastern portion of the island large enough to contain half a dozen cruisers and all the submarines and torpedo boats in the navy. So perfectly protected is this harbour that the vessels in it would be safe even in the most violent hurricane. The channel is a safe one, and from the entrance to the harbour there are three safe channels through the reefs to the sea, which render a blockade most difficult. By dredging a short distance another channel could be made connecting the harbour with Target Bay, which would render a blockade practically impossible. A station ship is maintained in the inner harbour for the handful of officers and men required to look after the coal and other government property. Rain water is caught and stored in reservoirs for the needs of the two or three hundred Spanish fishermen and their families who inhabit the island. They fish and raise a few vegetables, among them melons of very fine quality. They are governed by a chief, appointed by the government of Porto Rico, who depends on the naval authorities to keep his flock in order and prevent smuggling. Their physical ailments are looked after by a naval surgeon with a staff of hospital attendants.

With Culebra as our headquarters, we spent a month of hard, steady work. I was fortunate in having

as my second in command Rear-Admiral C. H. Davis, who, in addition to being one of the ablest tacticians in the navy, had a most attractive personality, which made duty with him a pleasure. As many of the captains and most of the junior officers had never had any fleet work, we had to begin at the very rudiments with them, teach them the multiplication table, so to speak, before we ventured into the algebra of the profession. Every morning the two divisions of four ships each got under way, and all day long they drilled and manœuvred in the adjacent waters, which were well adapted to the purpose. In the evening they would anchor in Target Bay, or during the night exercise with search lights. At the end of two weeks the divisions were united and drilled as a fleet. In this way much valuable experience was gained. Saturdays and Sundays we remained at anchor, and as much time as possible was given to swimming and athletic exercises. The destroyers were given steady work with torpedoes night and day. They were also required to develop the possibilities of the various channels, so that they might be able to use them in case of necessity.

As Christmas time approached, I divided the squadron and sent the ships to various ports in the West Indies to give shore leave to the crews. The ports of St. Thomas, St. Kitts, Barbadoes, and Trinidad were chosen as best for the purpose. Nearly half of our men were recruits who had never been out of the United States, many of them lads from the farms of the middle West, and to them the opportunity of seeing a foreign port was pleasing. They thoroughly enjoyed their Christmas holiday, as did those who benefited by the

large sums of money the bluejackets spent. The Maine, my flagship, went to Trinidad, where the hospitable people received us most cordially and made us welcome. I ate my Christmas dinner with Governor Jackson and his charming family.

Immediately after Christmas the ships assembled at Guantanamo, our naval station on the south-east side of Cuba. After the close of the Spanish War the United States had acquired this station, which was regarded as of vital importance to our interest in the south Atlantic. The Navy Department had made a careful survey of the site, and with a small appropriation from Congress began the construction of a dry dock and the erection of a coaling plant. A few small frame houses had been built for the accommodation of the officers on duty there, and tents put up for the marines who guarded the property. The water supply was totally inadequate, though there was a fine river running through the country only a few miles away. Sixty thousand dollars would have given us an ample supply of excellent water, but the money was not available. Every drop of fresh water for the station came from Caimoneira, ten or twelve miles distant, in water cars, and was then pumped into a water boat, which was towed six miles before it could be distributed for consumption!

A fine, first-class wireless telegraph station had been installed by the Navy Department, which kept up communication with the world through the station at Key West. At night messages came to us regularly and with fair accuracy, but in the daytime this station, like most other wireless outfits, refused to work, giving al-

ways as an excuse the incomprehensible word *static*, which in wireless experience covers a multitude of sins. As far as I have been able to discover, the word means an atmospheric condition in which Hertzian waves refuse duty and no messages can be sent through. This condition exists always in the daytime, but rarely at night. This station also was sorely perplexed by the question of water supply.

The Ordnance Bureau of the Navy Department had installed at Guantanamo the finest small-arm target range to be found anywhere in the world. It may be justly said, I think, that the use of this range enabled the men of the navy to outshoot all competitors and twice win from the army, the marines, and the militia the national trophy. It was here that they received the training which placed them in such an enviable position among the crack shots of the world. To their credit be it remembered that on the cruise of the Atlantic Fleet the bluejackets won from the best teams in Australia and Japan.

One object of our visit to Guantanamo was to use this range to its utmost capacity. All day long, from sunrise to sunset, despite the mosquitoes, the gnats, and the blazing sun, hundreds of men were on the ranges. The reports of the Krag-Jorgensens were incessant, reminding one of a battle. As soon as our anchors were down all the marines of the fleet were landed and camped under canvas in order that they might have real training as soldiers, without wasting their time with the petty duties which seemed to occupy all their time on board ship, and which during their absence were easily done by a small detail of bluejackets. The tar-

gets were turned over to the marines for a stated time each day. After their firing was completed, they "hiked" over the country and did other things that soldiers are expected to do to produce the conditions of efficiency which render them of value in times of war. I have never seen more marked improvement in a body of men than I observed in this case. It was the story of the marines at Subig Bay over again.

The bluejackets were sent to the targets every day, Saturdays and Sundays excepted, until each one had qualified on the different ranges. Then teams were selected from each ship, and these, after long practice, shot for the championship of the squadron. The battleship Missouri won after a spirited contest. In the meantime the boat guns were used on targets in the harbour, and afterwards, fitted as field pieces for land service, taken on shore and over a fine range did excellent work on the targets. In this way we gave the men the finest training it was possible for them to have. But to do all this work it was necessary to give some time to play and recreation; otherwise all hands would be worn out and become discontented. At a fixed hour every day work stopped. The men were then landed on the beach to swim, play baseball or football, and generally, in sea parlance, "stretch their legs." A racing crew from each ship was always in training, and races under sail, as well as pulling races, were a regular part of the exercise of the squadron. While all these sports required the hardest kind of physical effort, they were not regarded by the men as work, and they took great pleasure in them. The result of all our efforts was a fine, happy, contented lot of men, who reflected great credit

on their officers and were ready at a moment's notice for any service they might be called upon to perform.

The destroyers were confined to their proper work. Drills were constant day and night until they could use their weapons with a fair degree of accuracy. Their crews had athletic contests among themselves; some of them even aspired to the battleship class, where they acquitted themselves with credit. Particularly was this the case in boat racing. The destroyers did not at that time carry power boats, and as a result developed many good boat sailors and oarsmen.

The question of a range for target practice with the big guns was a most important one, and one that must soon be settled. Those in authority at home had decided to leave this to me, thus relieving themselves of the annoyance of having to answer the questions of politicians acting in the interest of their constituents, who wanted the ships sent to this place or that. All they had to say in such case was that the matter was in the hands of the commander-in-chief, that they did not know where he proposed to hold the practice, which was literally true, because I had not informed them of the locality! I was too far away to be reached by the politicians, so their constituents amused themselves by abusing me in the newspapers, which seemed to satisfy them and did not worry me in the least.

I took advantage of the first Saturday after our arrival at Guantanamo to look for our new target range. In company with the chief of staff and the fleet ordnance officer, I embarked on the tender Yankton and ran down to Cape Cruz, on the south side of Cuba, where we remained over Sunday. To the westward of

Cape Cruz, under the lea of the shoals making out off Manzanillo, we found what we were seeking, viz.: a large body of smooth water of such depth that ships could be conveniently anchored and targets moored. The spot selected was ideal for our purpose. The coral reefs to windward ensured smooth water, except when the wind came from the south-west, which it rarely did during the winter season. The prevailing winds were from the north and north-east. The shipping entering Manzanillo passed at a distance of twenty or twenty-five miles either to the east or the west, and interruption from this cause was unlikely. A few fishing boats took fish on the inside of the reef, and were entirely safe from our guns.

The surveys of this part of the West Indies were Spanish, and very unreliable. To ensure the safety of the fleet I selected and marked roughly with buoys the area we would use, and the Yankton then ran lines of soundings to detect shoal water, if any existed. When this had been thoroughly done, we returned to Guantanamo and made all necessary preparations for our record target practice.

Colliers were loaded with coal and sent to the anchorage selected for them inside the reef. The store-ship, with fresh provisions, and the water-ship for the destroyers were also sent, and the squadron followed, spending a few days en route at tactical drills. In the meantime a collier had been sent to Pensacola for the targets, and when she arrived they were soon in place and practice began. For three weeks the firing was constant. When it was completed the improvement was so marked that we were sure we had won the trophy,

but in this we were mistaken. We were disappointed at not winning the coveted prize, but determined to have it the following year, if hard work could make it come our way.

When time permitted I examined the water inside the reef, and succeeded in finding an admirable place for the small ships and torpedo craft to do their work. The spot selected was close to the coral island known as Media Luna Cayo (Half Moon Key), so named from its crescent shape. Here the crews were perfectly comfortable because of the smooth water, and when not at work could catch plenty of fish and large lizards to replenish their larders. When a careful survey had been completed, it was found that any ship in the squadron could enter between the reefs and use this target range with safety.

Of all the ranges I have ever used, that to the west of Cape Cruz was the most satisfactory. There was nothing in sight to attract either officers or men from their work at the guns. The only town or city anywhere near us was Manzanillo, which was thirty-five miles away, and with which we had no communication. From our firing stations there was nothing in sight but water. Here and there the mangroves on the coral reefs showed green in the distance, but otherwise we were practically at sea. When time permitted, those so disposed could find fairly good fishing, but as a rule little time was given to this sport, as both officers and men were tired enough with their work to sleep during any leisure moments.

It was while anchored in this vicinity, at a later date, that we heard of the disaster at San Francisco.

My orderly awoke me in the middle of the night to hand me a message just picked up by the wireless operator on duty on board the flagship. It read: "Bad earthquake in San Francisco; city destroyed by fire." As we were a thousand miles from the nearest wireless station, and because of the improbable character of the news received, I requested the wireless operator not to disturb me again unless there might be some confirmation of the message. These operators were always picking up wonderful pieces of news which drifted about in the air! A few hours later despatches came giving full details of the awful destruction inside the Golden Gate.

The boundaries of the naval reservation at Guantanamo had been very carefully marked by the Navy Department—first by a path cut through the jungle, and then by a substantial wire fence. In the vicinity of the proposed dry dock and marine barracks a stone wall about seven feet high had been constructed to prevent the natives from smuggling rum into the reservation and carrying away anything they could lay their hands on. We had more trouble on the small-arms target range from smuggled rum than from all other causes combined. The miserable natives managed to land it from boats at night, secrete it in the jungle, and from there serve it out to our men, who were invariably made crazy, fighting drunk by the vile stuff. After two days' search we found the "cache" and destroyed its contents, consisting of about thirty gallons of newly made rum. I gave notice that I would also destroy those who owned it if I could lay my hands on them. If we could have had a canteen where the men could get beer and light wines, under proper restrictions, all this

trouble would have been spared us. A wise Congress had, however, decreed that we should not have a canteen, and in consequence we had to struggle with a much greater evil.

One look at the reservation as laid out clearly indicated that we had not taken ground enough. The reservation was too small for the purpose intended. To the eastward and well within the range of a ten-inch gun rises a sharp mountain peak, which we designated as "203 Metre Hill" because of its commanding position; 203 Metre Hill, it will be recalled, completely dominated the defences of Port Arthur and caused the surrender of that fortress when the Japanese had succeeded in mounting a few guns thereon. It seemed to me that an enemy could land guns at the base of this mountain, and in a short time put them in a position from which they could destroy everything of value on the reservation. That the Navy Department and the general board might be fully advised of the situation, I organised a board of able officers, with Rear-Admiral Davis at its head, to report what should be done in the matter. This board went over the ground, climbed the mountains, surveyed the sources of water supply, and made an exhaustive report, pointing out the necessity for extending the boundaries of the concession to include the high point necessary to its proper defence in time of war. This report was duly forwarded, and that was the last we ever heard of it. The Assistant Secretary of the Navy came down later, looked the ground over, and approved of what had been done. Later still a committee of senators came. After spending one hour in the bay, they sailed for Jamaica, deciding that no more

money should be spent on Guantanamo, and so the matter stands to-day. We cannot do the work without money, and Congress will not appropriate any.

If we had acquired one naval station in the West Indies, instead of two, it might have been better for us. Congress might have been induced to give the necessary money for one station, which it has failed to do for two. Some officers argue that they would not have voted money even for one, and cite the case of Manila Bay or Olongapo to prove their contention, but it must always be remembered that Olongapo is a long way from our coast, while Guantanamo and Culebra are practically in our back yard.

It must be regarded as unfortunate that a difference of opinion developed among officers of the navy in the years following the close of the Spanish War in regard to the value of the two places, Culebra and Guantanamo, as sites for a large naval station. Some held that Culebra should be developed as our main station, while others declared in favour of Guantanamo, with Culebra as an advanced base only. This action, or opinion, naturally had its effect on Congress, whose members sought information from naval sources. As a result we have no station worthy the name in the West Indies. A war scare over our relations with Japan may cause us to complete a station somewhere in the vicinity of Manila, and likewise such a scare over our relations with some European nation, or the threat of some foreign nation to disregard what we please to term the Monroe Doctrine, may lead to the same desirable results at Guantanamo. As the Panama Canal approaches completion, this question of a strong station somewhere

on the Caribbean Sea will force itself on Congress more strongly than ever, and a solution may be reached.

At present it can be truthfully said that Guantanamo is of vast importance to us as a training station, a position from which, as a safe anchorage, our rapidly growing fleet may manœuvre and drill with the greatest possible advantage. Owing to its climate during the winter months and its excellent small-arms target range, it is far ahead of any place on our own coast. It is better even than any other place we could select if we were given our choice in the matter. Aside from its advantages as a drill ground for the fleet, it has great value as long as we keep up our present policy of patrolling the waters of Hayti and San Domingo and looking after the custom-houses of the last-named breeder of revolutions. Culebra is also of great value in this connection, owing to its geographical position. It would seem, therefore, that we should hold both places, but to make it possible to do so in time of war we should provide for their defence.

Culebra has a few small guns in position; not enough, however, to be of any value. At Guantanamo the army engineers have selected sites for mortar batteries and twelve-inch guns, and have finished two batteries for the defence of the mine fields. One of these has six-inch guns, and the other small, rapid firers. Congress has refused to appropriate more money, and in consequence all work must stop.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE SUMMER WORK OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC SQUADRON

Our winter's work having been completed, the squadron returned to Hampton Roads in May. In addition to the work done with the guns, a great amount of tactical exercise had been accomplished, with the gratifying result that most of the captains and many of the junior officers could maintain position and perform simple evolutions with accuracy. We were learning our multiplication table thoroughly before attempting higher work.

Once back in a home port, all the officers who had served their time at sea were detached, and others without fleet experience were ordered in their places. This was the case with captains as well as juniors. When ready to go to sea, the commander-in-chief found himself compelled to begin again at the beginning so far as drills were concerned. The officers who left had acquired valuable knowledge, but they took it ashore with them, and it was necessary to teach the new ones, just as the others had been taught. This condition is discouraging, this constant going over and over the simplest forms of fleet drill, but it will disappear in a few years, when the body of our officers has had sufficient service in the fleet.

While this condition for officers is in sight, the same cannot be said for the men. Officers of other navies are surprised at what we accomplish with our crews when informed of the way they are supplied to us. To explain this, let me cite a case, say of an English battleship about to be placed in commission for service. When reported ready by the dock-yard officials, her crew is marched on board, complete in every respect. The men are drawn from receiving ships or barracks, where they have been under instruction since leaving their last ship, all having seen service and all competent to perform the duties of the stations to which they are assigned. In other words, England has always ready a body of educated seamen from which she can draw to man the ships ordinarily commissioned. In case of emergency, when a large number of ships must be put in service at the same time, she calls to the colours the men of the naval reserve. Other nations have some similar plan.

Now let us see how it is with us. There is nothing else in the world so discouraging as the commissioning of a new battleship in our navy. For months after it is done the officers are worn to a shadow in their efforts to bring her to a state of efficiency. When the dock-yard people report her ready, the crew is sent on board and the flag hoisted. Sometimes the complement of officers is complete, but this is often not the case, and always, because of the shortage of officers, the number detailed is about half what it would be for a foreign ship of the same class. As to the crew, the captain is indeed lucky who finds half of his crew on board the day his flag is hoisted. This half crew is composed of men of different ratings—excellent men many of them;

some with two years to serve and many with only two months. To make up the number necessary to man the ship, apprentice seamen are sent from the various training stations, where they have been drilled for a few months and taught to care for their persons and their clothing. For the first time in their lives they are on the deck of a ship, and they are absolutely ignorant of their duties in her; they don't know one end of the ship from the other; and with this mass of ignorance the officers must contend. Fortunately for us, these recruits are most intelligent material to work with, as a rule, and our petty officers are up to their work, but for the first year of her commission one of our battleships is a school unknown anywhere else on the water.

After a few months of steady work, the times of the older men begin to expire, and new ones are sent in their places. Those of the recruits who find a sea life and hard work not to their liking desert, and in their places come new ones from the training station. Each ship is thus in some respects a receiving ship, constantly changing her crew by discharge or transfer. The officers struggle on in their efforts to meet the requirements of the commander-in-chief, who in turn is trying hard to do what Washington demands of him. It is amusing under such conditions to hear the comments of the swivel-chair critics, who from their roll-top desks demand that we shall do battle tactics, fight one squadron against another—in a few words, do the various things—some of them very silly—that foreign fleets do! While these learned gentlemen of the chairs are thus telling us what we should do, we are not really idle. The captains and their hard-working juniors are

struggling to educate men to steer their ships, and the commander-in-chief is giving his best efforts to prevent the ships from ramming each other in the simplest evolutions.

When we take a broad view of the situation, it seems surprising that those in charge in the Navy Department succeed as well as they do in manning our ships. The difficulties to be overcome are far greater than in any other country. The American lad who enlists in the navy to serve four years has two things prominently in his mind when he does so: first, he wishes to travel and see the world, and this he is encouraged to think he can do in the navy; in the second place, he wishes, in some undefined way, to advance himself to a better position in life. The first, the wish to travel, he generally realises; the second, to advance himself, always follows if the lad is industrious and gives due attention to his work; and herein lies our greatest difficulty. If at the end of four years he has not been promoted, it is his own fault, and the navy is no place for him. For those who succeed, civil life, as a rule, offers a better career than the navy; at least it seems better because of the better pay. Many find, when too late, that they have made a mistake in leaving us.

Every man discharged from the navy with an honourable discharge can find employment on shore at a salary much larger than we can pay him, and many valuable men take advantage of this. Electric companies, railroads, and street railway companies are glad to get the men whom we have educated, and in some cities preference is given them on the police force. Be-

cause of rapid promotion, the lower grades of the service are always filled by new recruits, and the upper grades much depleted from the causes stated above. We are constantly taking men into the service and, after educating them, sending them back to civil life well qualified for good citizenship, and are thus doing well by the country, but it does not keep our ships manned as they should be. When we are older as a nation and a sea power I have no doubt that a remedy will be found for all these things.

To give our men the necessary preliminary target practice during the summer months we required smooth water, unencumbered with shipping or fishermen, and to find this was very difficult. The long range of our guns made it important that we should fire to seaward, for otherwise the projectiles might land on shore and do much damage. For two years the practice has been held in Menemsha Bight, off Martha's Vineyard, but fishermen who frequented that locality claimed that the firing of the guns drove the fish to sea, and thus interfered with their business. They sent long petitions to the Navy Department, numerously signed and backed by senators and representatives, protesting against our practice, and it became necessary to find a new field for our work. The fact that our firing did not in any way affect the fishing, which was conclusively shown by the very best kind of evidence, had no weight. Voters must be considered first, and, as we had no votes in the navy, we left Menemsha Bight and sought a new target range.

I had the curiosity later to follow up one of the petitions mentioned above. It bore the names of several

hundred men and was indorsed by at least one representative and one senator. When personally called to the attention of the representative he at first declared that he had not signed it, but later concluded that he had done so without giving it any attention. Of the men who put their names to it, nine-tenths were not fishermen, but lived on the shores of Cape Cod and sometimes went to sea on coasting vessels. Some of them did not even know where Menemsha Bight was. Most of them might be considered fishermen only because they fished for small pieces of dried codfish found in bowls on the bars of local saloons, where they served as drink appetisers! Beyond this they had no knowledge of fish or fishing.

My able chief of staff, Captain Pillsbury, looked the coast charts over, and finally selected a suitable target range in Cape Cod Bay, off the town of Barnstable, Massachusetts. Here there was plenty of smooth water during the summer and autumn months and no fishermen to bother us. The beautiful harbour of Provincetown was available as headquarters for the fleet, where the small vessels and torpedo craft could anchor in safety, even in the worst storms. A better place for our work could not apparently be found. Rail connections were such that our supplies could be easily handled, and in addition there was daily communication with Boston by boat. Full of enthusiasm and fond anticipations, I took the fleet to Provincetown and prepared for work.

The people of the picturesque old New England town were glad to see us, and did not hesitate to say so. The hotels and boarding houses were soon crowded

with officers' families and others anxious to witness our drills. Everything promised a most comfortable and instructive period. The officers raised enough money to purchase and fit up an athletic field about a mile from the town, and on this the men by the hundreds spent their time in healthful recreation. I was personally on shore among the men day and night to observe their conduct and see for myself that they created no disturbance. Everything went well for a few weeks, and then trouble began.

I noticed that some of the men were drinking too much, and that the effect of what they drank was very peculiar. They were not drunk in the ordinary sense of the word, but crazy drunk—unable to recognise their own officers. It was against the law to sell liquor in the town, but it was painfully evident that the law was not being enforced. Due inquiry developed the fact that a number of "blind tigers" were being operated, and from these the men obtained a drink labelled whisky. It was in reality wood alcohol, with a little whiskey to flavour it. For half-pint bottles of this the keepers of the dens were being paid five dollars apiece. Where such profits could be realised, the offenders simply laughed at police regulations. Upon representing the matter to the selectmen, they frankly admitted that they were unable to stop it. When I suggested that they allow me to stop it for them, they decided that it would not be lawful for me to do so, but they promised to punish the offenders severely if I could catch them.

When this was clearly understood I landed a master-at-arms, one of the ships' police, and two minors. They bought the liquor and brought it to me, with the

name and residence of the parties from whom they had purchased it. The case was then taken to the selectmen, who tried the culprits and imposed a fine, with imprisonment. The lawyer for the defendants appealed the case, the appeal was granted, and the case ordered for retrial at Barnstable in November, when it was thought the ships, with the witnesses, would be in the West Indies! Of course, this result did not tend to discourage drinking places. In addition to this evil, a number of disreputable women came down from Boston and established their residences in empty freight cars on the wharf. This, it seemed to me, could have been prevented without much effort. Notwithstanding all the drawbacks, the conduct of the men was good—good enough, at any rate, to bring compliments from the people who saw them on shore.

Toward the end of the summer real trouble came. The bluejackets were much interested in baseball, football, and other athletic sports. As they were busily occupied with their work all the week, they were allowed Saturdays and Sundays for recreation—all day Saturday, practically, and on Sunday after two o'clock in the afternoon, church services having been held at ten o'clock and the men's dinners served at noon. Nearly all the inhabitants visited the field on Sunday afternoon to witness the spirited contests between the men of different ships. It seemed to me that this way of spending their time was of great benefit to the bluejackets, and I encouraged them in it. It would have been inhuman in me to keep seven or eight thousand men locked up in the ships under the circumstances; and to land them simply to roam about the town and get drunk on

wood alcohol, at ten dollars a pint, would be equally bad, if not worse. I therefore encouraged them to amuse themselves by playing baseball and other innocent games after church hours, as was the custom of Calvin in the town of Geneva, Switzerland.

My surprise was great when I received a letter, signed by a number of ministers of the Gospel and some of the selectmen, protesting against the men indulging in athletic sport on Sunday, and requesting that I would take means to ensure the observance of the Lord's day by those under my command. I replied that every day was the Lord's day with me; that in deference to their wishes I would not allow athletic sports on Sunday until half-past two in the afternoon, when their church services would have been finished. I further pointed out the necessity of some form of exercise and recreation for the men of the fleet on Sunday, and suggested that, as the athletic field was nearly a mile from the town, no one could be disturbed by the games. I also cited the fact that most of the people attended the games on Sunday, thus indicating that they were not seriously opposed to them. In conclusion, I requested them to attend to their own business and not to interfere with mine; that I thought they would do better to look after their "blind tigers" and other violations of law and let my bluejackets alone.

Then a letter was written by these over-zealous Christians to the Secretary of the Navy, calling attention to the fact that we were violating the laws of the State of Massachusetts with our Sunday games. This letter was forwarded to me for reply. It informed me for the first time that I was acting contrary to law in

the course I had pursued. I was aware that a law had been passed in the State of New York prohibiting games on Sunday, which, when carried into court, had promptly been declared unconstitutional, but I did not know and had no reason to think that there was any such law on the statute books of Massachusetts. The appeal to me was to see that my men did not violate the Lord's day; there was no mention of violating any law. As soon as my attention was called to it, I looked up the law, found that I had violated it, and at once gave orders that it should be strictly observed in the future. No naval officer will knowingly disregard the laws of a state in which he may be temporarily stationed.

It had never occurred to me that a body of men so wise and conservative as the legislature of the great State of Massachusetts would forbid reasonable and healthy exercise on Sunday or any other day. That they might forbid the playing of games by professionals for money on Sunday was likely, but that this involved prohibiting healthful exercise or innocent amusement on that day did not follow. However, I had nothing to do with making the law; my business was to enforce it. When I knew what the law was, I enforced it for those under my command, and am sorry to say that those on shore did not do the same for those under their care.

The question of reasonable exercise and amusement for the enlisted men was of such importance in my mind that I informed the selectmen that I would endeavour to find a locality where the laws were different, and, having found it, would use that place instead of Provincetown as headquarters for the fleet thenceforward. We

were spending about one hundred thousand dollars per month in the village, and this sum was increased by those who came to the town because we were there. All this money went directly to the townspeople in one way or another, and the prospect of losing it was not pleasing to them. A mass-meeting was called, at which the ministers and selectmen who had signed the letter to the Secretary of the Navy received strong evidence of disapproval of their course. The inhabitants were practically a unit against the enforcement of the law, if not in favour of its repeal. They finally succeeded in having a committee of the legislature, then in session, look into the matter, but with what result I have never heard.

Suitable ground was found off the town of Barnstable, in the southern part of Cape Cod Bay, and here our targets were planted. When the heavy guns were used a new difficulty was encountered. It was found that when a ship was in a certain position the firing caused the plastering to fall in in many of the houses on shore, ten or twelve miles away; in one or two cases the walls of the houses were actually cracked. After some investigation, I was satisfied that this was because the houses were built on, or near, a ledge of rock that extended out into the bay, and that the vibration caused by the firing of the guns was taken up by this ledge and so transmitted to the walls. There was no other reasonable way of accounting for the damage done. Most of those whose property had been thus injured were patriotic enough to let it pass, as they felt that we had to fire the guns somewhere. Others, however, forwarded claims to the Navy Department, de-

manding pay for the damage they had sustained. I recall one particular case of this kind. A small farmer claimed that our firing had caused the shelves in his store-room to fall, and thus his entire stock of preserves for the winter had been destroyed. He asked the government to pay him the sum of thirty-nine dollars. His letter was sent to me for a statement and recommendation. I stated the facts in the case, and then recommended that the proper county officials should be requested to proceed against him for keeping his family in a house that was unsafe for them to live in! If our guns caused the shelves in his store-room to fall, as he claimed they did, a hard gale of wind would probably level the whole structure. I never heard of the claim again.

After two months of steady work in Cape Cod Bay we ran down to Newport and filled up with coal. A squadron of four ships was on its way home from France, bringing the remains of John Paul Jones, which had been discovered in Paris by our minister, General Horace Porter. The finding of these remains after years of search constitutes one of the most thrilling undertakings ever carried out.

My orders were to meet this squadron at sea and escort them to Cape Henry, on their way to Annapolis, where the remains of the great sea fighter were to rest in a suitable receptacle in the new chapel of the Naval Academy. The date of their sailing from France was given, but the point at which I was to meet these vessels was left entirely to me. For practice, I assumed that they represented an enemy's fleet in time of war, and arranged to get in touch with them by scouting,

and to have their movements reported every hour. The vessels were sent out one after another from Newport, and the scouting line so arranged that Admiral Sigsbee and his four ships were picked up well to the eastward of Nantucket, and at least one scout was in touch with him, reading his wireless messages, and repeating them to me for twenty-four hours before he joined company. He was aware that several ships were in his vicinity, as he could detect the working of their wireless outfits, but as all their messages were in a cipher unknown to him he could not identify them. Inside Cape Henry the Atlantic Squadron was stopped and saluted the special squadron as it passed on up the bay.

Early in November I was ordered to proceed to an anchorage off Annapolis, and there receive the English squadron of four armoured cruisers under the command of his Serene Highness Rear-Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg, which was about to arrive on our coast. Such duty was a great pleasure to every officer and man in the squadron, as it gave us an opportunity to return some of the kindness and courtesy shown us by the officers and men of the English navy on many occasions. A division of armoured cruisers under command of Rear-Admiral Brownson, which had been escorting President Roosevelt to and from the Isthmus of Panama, was ordered to join me, which made the number of ships in the receiving line twelve, all fine specimens of American workmanship.

The English squadron arrived at the hour announced, and it was instructive to see the wonderful speed and accuracy with which the ships were handled. Only constant practice could produce the results shown

by them. The American ships were anchored in two lines, extending about north and south. Inside of them I had marked an anchorage for the visitors, the position of each being indicated by a small white buoy. The squadron came in at a speed of seventeen knots, which was not changed until the buoys were approached, when the engines were thrown full speed astern and their headway checked. The four anchors were let go at the same moment, almost on top of the buoys. It was a sight to gladden a seaman's heart.

When I had received the Prince and returned his call, it was necessary for him to pay his respects to the superintendent of the Naval Academy. International custom requires that the arriving officer, when of the same rank as the one in port, or his junior, shall make the first call. Prince Louis was a Rear-Admiral, and the same rank was held by me and by Admiral Sands, in command at Annapolis. As a matter of courtesy, I got under way in my tender, the Yankton, commanded by an able young officer, Lieutenant W. R. Gherardi, and invited his Highness to take passage with me, which he was glad to do. As he came over the side his flag was broken out at the mainmast head, and we thus had the unusual sight of a vessel of war flying the American flag, with an English admiral's flag at her mast head! Prince Louis appreciated the compliment, and turning to me courteously said:

"Admiral, it would be a great pleasure to me to see your flag flying at the same time!"

Of course, my flag was immediately hoisted at the foremast head, and we steamed up to the Naval Academy with two admirals' flags hoisted at the same time

on the same ship. I do not know that this was ever seen before.

The visiting officers were entertained at the Naval Academy after they had thoroughly inspected that institution. They were also shown every possible courtesy by the officers afloat, but nothing was done for the enlisted men; that was to come later at a more convenient time and place. The following day a special train conveyed a large party of officers, both English and American, to Washington, where they were entertained by the President and the British ambassador. After a visit of a few days at the capital, the English officers returned to Annapolis, where further entertainments awaited them.

In the meantime I returned to my flagship, and with the squadron proceeded to New York, where I was ordered to meet the visiting squadron and entertain the officers and men. My flagship, the Maine, was moored off the foot of Seventy-ninth Street, in the North River, and the other ships in a line upstream toward Grant's tomb. They were close in to the shore, and from the Riverside Drive presented a fine appearance. When the English squadron arrived, the flagship was moored below the Maine and next to her, while the others were placed in line downstream toward Forty-second Street. Thus the two flagships were together, and the combined squadrons formed a line about three miles long up and down the river. The following day the British flagship was hauled into the Cunard Company's pier, that the Prince might more easily receive his visitors.

The people of New York city received the visitors

with great courtesy and cordiality. Many balls and receptions were tendered them, and many private dinners given in their honour. They were taken to West Point in company with a large party of distinguished people who had been invited to meet them. I think the most notable entertainment of all was that given by the enlisted men of our squadron to those of the British ships. The entire affair was organised and managed by a committee of petty officers and enlisted men. They raised the money by subscription from the bluejackets of the squadron, designed the invitations and menu cards, chartered the necessary transportation, and made all the arrangements for the dinner, which was given at Coney Island.

On the day appointed one of the steamers of the Iron Steamboat Company, which had been secured for the purpose, collected the men from the different ships and landed them at Coney Island half an hour before the dinner time. They were then marched to the dinner tables and seated, each English bluejacket having an American by his side. In the meantime sixty officers, thirty British and a like number of ours, had been conveyed by special trolley cars to the dining hall. Prince Louis and I led the procession to the large centre table arranged for us, escorted by a guard composed of men from all the ships in equal numbers. When we reached our places two little girls came forward, each holding a beautiful bouquet. One was dressed as Britannia, the other as Columbia. Miss Columbia presented her bouquet to Prince Louis, and I watched carefully to see what he would do. He took the flowers and then kissed the blushing maiden who presented them. Of

course, I had to do the same thing for Miss Britannia when my turn came. The cheers of the men during this pretty scene were deafening.

When we were seated at the table we found that champagne had been served for the officers and beer for the men. The wine was not uncorked, however, the officers contenting themselves with the same kind of refreshment as was served to the bluejackets. An American petty officer welcomed the guests, proposed the health of the President of the United States and the King of England, which we drank standing, and, after three cheers for Prince Louis and his men, the feast progressed. His Highness and I remained at the table only a few minutes, and then went into one of the galleries, from which we could have a view of the entire room. It certainly was a wonderfully beautiful sight as we glanced over the twenty-four hundred enlisted men seated at the tables—twelve hundred British and twelve hundred Americans. Looking only at their faces, one could not say which was which; only by their uniforms could one nationality be told from the other. The dinner was finished at midnight, when the room was quickly transformed into a theatre, and a fine company, engaged for the occasion, rendered an excellent vaudeville performance until four o'clock in the morning, when the men returned by trolley cars to Brooklyn and were taken off to their ships. A large police force was on hand to protect the men from interference by outside people and to care for any who might imbibe too freely. The officer in charge of this force reported that there was no disorder of any kind, and not a single arrest was made of any sailor in uniform. Who will

not say, with the gallant Tatnall, that "blood is thicker than water"?

In the meantime, while the men were enjoying their dinner, the officers were whisked off in automobiles to the horse show in Madison Square Garden. We only remained half an hour with the men at dinner and then withdrew, leaving them to their own devices for the rest of the night. Headed by the chief of police of the city of New York, we raced in motor cars from Coney Island to the Garden in less than forty minutes. The green light on the leading car gave us the right of way, and warned all policemen that their chief was setting the pace for us, and that we could go as fast as the machines could take us. It was a beautiful ride, but I, for one, was glad when we arrived without accident. Some of the turns in the narrow streets of Brooklyn were made at a break-neck speed that would have made a bad mess for us if any part of one of the machines had broken.

At the horse show the British officers had an opportunity of seeing New York society on dress parade, so to speak. Beautiful women in exquisite gowns, wearing fortunes in gems, and handsome men in immaculate evening dress, filled the boxes, while blue-ribbon thoroughbreds filled the ring. Prince Louis made a circuit of the parade, admiring what he saw in both the boxes and the ring. I have no doubt that in his experience abroad he had seen much the same thing before, for the world has many such exhibitions, but I am sure that what he witnessed at Coney Island was entirely new to him—the world does not often present the spectacle of twenty-four hundred bluejackets seated at dinner in one

room, half of them being entertained at the expense of the other half.

In return for the courtesies shown him, the Prince gave a great ball on board his flagship. A complete deck was laid over the upper works of the Drake, and the whole space enclosed in canvas. Flowers and flags were used in profusion, and a dancing room of fairy-like beauty was produced. The entire ship was thrown open to the great crowd of friends who responded to his invitations, and the Prince and his officers were untiring in their attentions to all. A portion of the dock adjacent to the ship was partitioned off, and at midnight a sumptuous banquet was served. No finer entertainment, I think, was ever given by a ship.

When the time came to leave, Prince Louis confided to me that there had been but one unpleasant incident during his entire visit, and, as that afterwards appeared in the newspapers, I may mention it here. Some friend had recommended a dentist to him in New York, and, requiring his services, he had employed him to do a small amount of work on his teeth. To his surprise and annoyance, this dentist sent in a bill of one thousand dollars! I advised the Prince to refuse to pay such an exorbitant sum, and to turn the matter over to his consul-general for settlement. The newspapers somehow heard of it, and when they were through with the gentleman I think he was quite willing to accept a reasonable amount for his services! The advertising he received was not of the kind that dentists like.

A short time after the English cruiser squadron returned to England, I received from Prince Louis two souvenirs of their visit to the United States. One was

for me personally from his Highness—a cigarette case with two admirals' flags, British and American, enamelled upon it, and the words, "Yankton, 3–11–05," the date of our visit to Annapolis, when the two flags flew at the same time from the same ship. The other was a beautiful cup, very large and heavy, for the men of the American squadron from the enlisted men of the English squadron. In the letter forwarding them the request was made that this cup should be considered a challenge cup, to be raced for by the men of our squadron. It was duly named the "Battenberg Cup," and is held as a perpetual challenge cup. Many spirited contests have been held for it, and it is now regarded as the most valuable racing trophy among the many in possession of the Atlantic Fleet. In drawing up the rules governing the race for it I inserted a clause that any British vessel might compete for the cup, providing she pulled in one of our regulation racing cutters. If she should win, the name of the ship should be inscribed on it, but the cup must remain in our possession. Since then the name of one British ship has been so inscribed. The cruiser Argyle won in a splendidly contested race in Hampton Roads during the Jamestown Exposition, and hers is the only name of an English ship, so far, on the coveted trophy.

It cannot be doubted that this visit of the cruiser squadron had an excellent effect in strengthening the friendly ties that bind the two great English-speaking nations. Friendships were formed not only between the men of the two services, but also between the English sailors and our people on shore which must in the

future tend to hold us to the mother country in bonds of forbearance and peace.

Having completed the entertainment of these welcome guests of our government—and paid the bills out of our own pockets—the ships of the squadron were sent to the navy yards for a brief period of repairs, to be made ready for the winter's work in the West Indies.

During the early months of the summer I had given much time to two evolutions at the request of the War College, made through the general board. A battle plan submitted in the same way would have received careful attention if it had been sent to me. Owing to a mistake on the part of the mailing clerk in the board room, or some one else, this plan rested in a pigeonhole several months, and was only brought to light when I had been charged with neglecting to carry out the wishes of the Bureau of Navigation in the matter of battle plans. Some of the swivel-chair men were quite strong in their condemnation. Later, I believe, the matter was taken to the President, and then the truth became known and the blame placed where it belonged. No real battle practice, in the sense of one fleet actually operating against another, had yet been held, because we had no cruisers or vessels to do the work. In addition, the battleships had not had sufficient work in preliminary drills.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### IN THE WEST INDIES

EARLY in December the squadron assembled at Fort Monroe, and for the first time a division of armoured cruisers was available for work with the squadron. A very able and skilful officer, Rear-Admiral Brownson, was in command of this division, and entered with great enthusiasm into the plans I proposed. I was anxious to test the wireless outfits of the squadron and to see how far I could rely on them as a means of keeping me in touch with an opposing fleet: first, when such a fleet was without cruisers, and hence in no danger of interference; second, when all known means of interference were used. The dry dock Dewey had started for Manila in tow of suitable vessels, and was supposed to be somewhere in the vicinity of Bermuda. This gave a fine opportunity to test the first part of the problem—viz.: the confidence to be placed in the wireless telegraph as a means of keeping in touch with an enemy's fleet which was without cruisers.

The cruiser division was sent to sea from Hampton Roads at such intervals that they found themselves two hundred and fifty miles apart when clear of the land. When the last one had attained her position I sailed with the battleships, bound for Culebra. Admiral Brownson had orders to keep his cruiser line at right

angles to my course, pick up the Dewey, and keep me informed by wireless of her movements, which he did most successfully. The dock was found south-east of Bermuda, and for five days and nights I knew exactly where she was and what she was doing, although she was fifteen hundred miles away. When we anchored in Target Bay, the cruisers were recalled, and arrived with intervals about as regular as they were when they sailed from Hampton Roads. The other part of the problem, which involved the possibility of so interfering with the working of the wireless as to prevent reliable communication, was tried later, but of this I cannot write in detail. Sufficient to say that for three days and nights four cruisers kept me informed of the movements of an opposing division of battleships. Notwithstanding the efforts of the battleships to prevent it, a message came every two hours, giving their position, course, and speed. The work was most exhausting for the machines as well as the men working them, but it settled a very important professional point.

Target ranges were laid out in the vicinity of Target Bay, and the armoured cruiser division held their preliminary practice, while the battleships in two divisions continued their tactical work at sea. When the firing had been completed, the squadron proceeded to Guantanamo for small-arm practice. When we arrived the marines of all the ships were at once landed, as had been done the year before, and put under canvas. A new camping place had been selected, which was much larger than the one we had previously used. To facilitate the practice of the bluejackets and extend their work, they also were landed, one ship's company at a

time. Men so landed lived on shore for a week, or until the firing had been completed. In this way the men were relieved from the monotony of ship life and at the same time learned many things that would prove of value to them in case it became necessary to land them for service as a naval brigade. While this work was in hand the squadron, except the ship whose men were on shore, got under way every day and exercised at sea. Saturdays and Sundays were, as usual, given up to athletics after church time, as well as a portion of every other afternoon after the ships returned to their anchorage. In this way nearly ten thousand men were made happy and contented while they did a great amount of hard work. Not a day was allowed to pass without serious preparatory drill for the record target practice to take place later off Cape Cruz.

Despite the amount of work done, we found time to prepare for a regatta at which the Battenberg Cup and many other valuable trophies were raced for. I had succeeded after a long struggle in having regulation twelve-oared racing cutters adopted for the service, and in them the men pulled for the challenge cups. Other races were contested in the regular boats of the ships. It had been the custom in years gone by for the men of each ship to raise a sufficient sum to purchase a racing boat. If such a boat won, some ship would immediately have a faster one built. Thus it became a question of boats and not of crews that won many races. This custom caused the men to spend large sums of money for purely racing machines, which was a hardship, and I made up my mind to put a stop to it. A suitable light racing cutter was designed and one built

at the navy yard for each vessel in the service. They were as nearly as possible exactly of the same dimensions and weight, thus permitting the crews to pull on even terms. The best-trained crew, as a rule, won, which was as it should be. At the regatta mentioned above I had the pleasure of seeing eleven hundred men in pulling boats at the same time! And at other times fifty or sixty boats were racing under sails. Because of these contests and the boxing bouts which took place daily on the various ships, the men were better able to perform their duties at the guns. We thus developed a large number of men who were as active as cats and as tough as nails.

While anchored at Guantanamo later in the winter, a telegram came from Governor Magoon at Havana announcing a destructive earthquake at Kingston, in the island of Jamaica. As I now recall the message, it was, in effect, that the city was partially destroyed, causing many deaths and much suffering, and that the governor of Jamaica had asked the English consul at Havana for assistance. Governor Magoon asked if I could not render prompt assistance by sending over relief supplies and surgeons on a torpedo boat. I replied that I could, and would do so with pleasure. When the message came I was on board the Alabama, flagship of Rear-Admiral Davis, commanding the second division, and as soon as I realised the gravity of the situation I ordered the admiral to prepare to sail immediately for Kingston with two battleships, and on his arrival to render all possible assistance to the people of the stricken city. I was fortunate in having such a man as Admiral Davis available for such important duty.

The flotilla of destroyers was at the moment engaged in manœuvres in the outer harbour. It was half-past nine in the morning when the message came, and at ten o'clock I made signal for the fastest of the boats to return to her anchorage immediately and prepare for a full-speed run at sea.

In the meantime signal was made for emergency medical supplies to be sent to my flagship, where they were assembled under the care of the surgeon of the fleet, who, with two other surgeons, was in readiness to sail on the destroyer. At a quarter before eleven the Whipple, the fastest of the destroyers, left the harbour with orders to proceed with all despatch to Kingston, render what aid she could, and notify the governor that Admiral Davis would arrive at daylight the following morning with two battleships, fully prepared to assist in any way the governor might direct.

The Whipple was driven at full speed through a very rough sea, and arrived off the harbour early in the evening. The earthquake had destroyed, or damaged, the lighthouse and other aids to navigation, and the pilots refused to take the Whipple into the harbour, but her commanding officer succeeded in safely navigating her to one of the docks, and immediately reported his arrival. The surgeons went to work at once to relieve the great suffering evident everywhere.

Admiral Davis left Guantanamo with two battleships, and appeared off Kingston at daylight the following morning. Before he left I told him that he would find Governor Swettenham of Jamaica a charming man. I felt sure of this, because I had known his brother, Sir Frank Swettenham, in Singapore, and I

was confident that any brother of his must be a charming good fellow. When the admiral returned to Guantanamo, four days later, he said to me:

"You may select good fellows for some of your friends, but I will be —— if you can select one for me!"

After hearing his account of his visit and his experience with the governor, I felt that I had not been justified in my statement that he would find him a charming man.

The two battleships arrived in the harbour very early in the morning, and found things there in pretty bad shape. The dock was crowded with passengers, many of them Americans, waiting for a steamer to take them away. They were without food or any of the conveniences of life. They were at once made comfortable and fed on board the ships. The colonial secretary reported to Admiral Davis that the convicts in the jail had overcome the guards and were making trouble, and that the governor requested him, Admiral Davis, to look after them, which he promptly did. One of the battleships was anchored near the jail, a detail of men under arms was landed, and in a short time the convicts were back in their cells and reduced to order. In the meantime the surgeons had selected a building which was being used as a hospital, and many patients were being treated by them. English engineer officers had asked for parties of men, and these, by the use of dynamite, were destroying many dangerous walls. Other parties were working in the blazing sun and sickening stench to remove the dead and rescue the wounded from the ruins. In a word, Admiral Davis did what was

expected of an able and energetic officer under the circumstances, and he did it well, as he always did everything he was ordered to do.

After rather a long delay, the admiral succeeded in finding the governor, who seemed worn out with the work and worry of the past few days. His Excellency, with scant show of courtesy, demanded to know why armed men had been landed before a request to do so had been made. Admiral Davis replied that he had received such a request from the governor, conveyed through his colonial secretary, and that he had landed the men to give such assistance as had been asked for. The governor denied that he had made any such request, asked that the men be sent back to their ships at once, and that the ships leave the harbour, as their presence was not welcome. Admiral Davis said he would go to the jail and order the men embarked at once. The governor then said that he was going to the jail himself, and requested the admiral to drive there with him and the colonial secretary, which he did. On arriving there the necessary orders were given to the officer in command of the sailors, and then the governor requested that a detail of them should act as a guard for him while he held court for the purpose of punishing some of the convicts. His request was granted, and the same bluejackets who, as he claimed, had been landed against his wishes stood guard over him while he performed his judicial functions! As soon as possible the working parties were recalled, and the following day the ships put to sea, after landing all the medical and other supplies they had brought.

The mass of the people of Kingston were grateful

for the assistance given them, and all of them, except his Excellency the governor and a few of his staff, wanted the ships to remain, despite the governor's invitation to leave; but this, of course, was out of the question, and they returned to Guantanamo. A more disgusted set of officers and men I have never seen. I not only approved the conduct of Admiral Davis in the whole matter, but I heartily commended him for the wonderful coolness he showed under most trying conditions. He made a full report of his trip, which was approved by the President and the Navy Department. The English press gave us praise for what we did, and many telegrams were received thanking me for acting promptly and Admiral Davis for the assistance rendered. Governor Swettenham was promptly removed by his government, which entirely disapproved of his conduct, and a new man was put in his place.

After the return of the ships from Jamaica the squadron was organised into two divisions, and the battle plans submitted by the War College were thoroughly threshed out. Every morning the division commanded by Admiral Davis went to sea, and when they were out of sight I followed with the first division. After manœuvring for position, the two divisions came within range of each other and a battle followed, each phase of which was carefully followed by umpires, who plotted the positions of the various vessels at short intervals. In this way much valuable experience was gained, and the weak as well as the strong points of the war-college plans demonstrated. The guns were kept constantly trained and their fire concentrated on the opposing ships; the number of rounds fired, or supposed to be

fired, were counted; in a few words, the exercise was as much like actual battle as it could be made. For the first time in my experience the ships were all handled from the conning towers, as would be the case in time of war. When all this work had been completed, the results, with full plans of each battle, were forwarded to the Department, that the war college might see the practical working of its theories. As I now recall it, one of the battle plans was excellent and the others of little value. Some of the results were so startling that I requested the Department to regard them as confidential and not to allow them to be published.

Target practice on the Cape Cruz range followed our sea work, and the much-coveted trophy came to the North Atlantic Squadron for the first time. The general improvement in rapidity and accuracy of fire was marked and most gratifying to officers and men. They had given all their time to careful preparation, and as a result the trophy came to us, and the gunnery pennant flew from the mast head of the battleship Illinois. It was only after a very careful computation of results that it could be decided which of three battleships had won, so close had been the contest. For a time it was felt that the Kentucky was ahead of all competitors, but in the end the Illinois was declared the winner.

During this practice we lost one of the best captains in the fleet. He had served with me in the gunboat Yorktown during a cruise in the Pacific, and was a most intimate personal friend. When the cruiser Colorado had completed her target practice, I received a signal that her commanding officer, Captain Duncan Kennedy, was ill, suffering intensely from appendicitis. I sent the

ablest surgeons of the fleet to him at once, but it was impossible to save his life. An operation was performed from which he never rallied. Though apparently in splendid physical condition, he was unable to stand the fearful suffering caused by the inflamed condition of the appendix and the surrounding portions of his body. His death was a sad personal loss to me, as well as a great loss to the service which he loved and honoured by his devotion to its best interests. The surgeon who operated on him reported to me afterwards that he had found eight birdshot in his appendix, which seems to disprove the theory that nothing ever enters that apparently useless member of our anatomy.

The battleship Kearsarge met with a deplorable accident during the practice, by which two gallant young officers and nine men lost their lives. The ship had made her last run on the range and completed part of her practice, but one of the thirteen-inch guns in her forward turret had failed to fire because of a defective lock. The umpires and the gun's crew were in the turret examining this lock and unloading the gun when the accident happened. The cartridge for this gun is in three sections, and these had been withdrawn and were lying on the turret floor waiting to be replaced in the magazine. To withdraw the shot, a heavy pair of shell tongs were being inserted in the breech of the gun, when they slipped from the man's hand and fell in such a position that the metal handle short-circuited the electric current in the turret. The heat from this melted a copper connection, and the melted copper fell onto one of the sections of the cartridge and set it on fire. The other sections were ignited at once, and before any one

could leave the turret it was a seething mass of poisonous gases from the burning smokeless powder. The turret was flooded at once with water, and willing hands were extended to save those inside, but it was too late; one breath of the hot, poisonous gas was enough to kill where the hot flames from the powder had not instantly put the unfortunate men out of their misery. Some of the men were taken out dead, but many, though badly burned, were still conscious, and from these we were able to learn how the accident had happened. Fortunately, this time it was not the dreaded flare back, nor anything to destroy confidence in the gun or its ammunition. It was a peculiar accident, which could probably not be reproduced if one tried a million times. To prevent the possibility of more trouble from the same cause, the electric fittings have been removed from all the turrets of our ships and placed beneath the floors, where they would seem to be accident proof.

Among the men seriously hurt in this accident was one who showed the most remarkable vitality. He was a seaman who had been, in his early life, badly cut up in a railroad accident. His flesh about the legs and thighs was so badly burned in this accident that little but the bones remained, and it was impossible to send him to the hospital on shore. He was told that there was little hope for his life, to which he replied that he was not going to die from these injuries, that he had been much more severely hurt in a railroad accident, and that he meant to get well. To give the poor fellow every chance for his life, I sent the Kearsarge to Guantanamo, where she remained at anchor while the surgeons did all that surgeons could do to save him. He

lingered *nine days* before he finally died. When he had been decently and properly buried, the ship was sent back to the target ranges, and the turret where the accident had happened made a record equal to any in the squadron, which shows how perfect the discipline was.

Lieutenants Hudgins and Graeme, who died from the effects of the burning smokeless powder, might easily have saved their own lives by jumping from the turret, but, instead, they attempted to save the lives of the men by stepping in front of them, thus showing the splendid spirit that animated them. It is such conduct as theirs that makes our service what it is and fixes standards for all brave men to live up to.

The armoured cruiser squadron sailed for the north when their practice had been completed, and were at once refitted at the navy yards and sailed for the East under command of Admiral Brownson. We were thus deprived of cruisers in all our battle drills, and the loss was severely felt.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### AT THE JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION

EARLY in May the battleships were sent to the navy yards and necessary repairs made. We then assembled in Cape Cod Bay for our preliminary target practice, which had only begun when an order came from the Department to send all the marines of the fleet to Havana, where a strong naval force had been concentrated to check a revolution which had gained some headway and was threatening to overthrow the government. Four hours after the order was received every marine in the squadron left us on the two battleships which had been ordered to proceed to the scene of trouble. The squadron was thus left without a single marine to do the important sentry duty without which many officers claimed we could not maintain discipline, but no such trouble came. A small detail of bluejackets on each ship did the work formerly done by the marines in addition to their own, and the only comment heard was that we seemed to be happier and more efficient without the soldiers than with them. In the meantime the senior officer off Havana had under his command, and ready in every way for service on shore, a regiment of marines, and this same regiment was afterwards placed in Camp Columbia or distributed over the island of Cuba, where the officers and men did excellent service until they were recalled.

President Roosevelt was very anxious to see the target practice of some of our battleships, and this he was able to do in Cape Cod Bay. He came from Oyster Bay on board the Mayflower, arriving at seven o'clock in the morning. At the time of his visit the revolution in Cuba had assumed such a serious aspect that it seemed probable that the United States would have to take charge of the island again to prevent great disorder and destruction of property. A number of telegrams had arrived for the President by wireless, which were delivered by me in person the moment the Mayflower dropped her anchor. After reading them over he prepared a message ordering the occupation of Havana by our forces, and directed me to send it by wireless at once. When I tried to do so I found the big wireless station on Cape Cod sending out broadcast over the ocean current news items, such as the result of baseball games and the like. Our operator requested them to close down their machine for a few minutes, as we had an important message to send for the President of the United States. Their instrument was so powerful that ours could not be used while theirs was in operation. The answer to my request came very promptly, and was in about the following words: "Ha, ha! Go to ——!" Fortunately, I had a torpedo boat ready, and she took the message full speed to Provincetown and put it on the wires of the Western Union Company. Unless some steps are taken by the government by which we can control wireless stations in time of war, serious trouble will undoubtedly follow.

It so happened that I had been president of the interdepartmental board of officers ordered by the Presi-

dent to consider the subject of wireless telegraphy. After quite a full discussion of the subject, and foreseeing the difficulties that would follow the installation of numerous commercial stations on the coast, the board in its report recommended that the government should own and operate all the coast stations, and that this duty should be assigned to the equipment bureau of the Navy Department. The report was approved by the President, but no orders were issued on the subject, and commercial wireless stations were erected at various points along the coast. These were so powerful that our instruments on board ship were unable to send messages while they were operating. This had caused much trouble in our cruising along the coast, and I was glad the President should have a practical illustration of how annoying it was. I hoped he would find a remedy and apply it, but so far it has not been done.

The President witnessed the firing from the bridge of the Maine, and showed great enthusiasm as shell after shell went tearing through the target. His presence was an incentive to officers and men, and his hearty words of praise did them a world of good. His visit to the fleet on this occasion, as on several others, was of the greatest value. It indicated to all of us the great personal interest he took in the navy, and thus greatly encouraged all to work for efficiency.

When I took command of the squadron I found much complaint of the food served to the crews. The newspapers frequently contained growls from the men on the subject, which did us no good in the public estimation. After a careful investigation I was satisfied that there was ground for complaint, but no possible

excuse for the way it was made. An order was issued directing the men to send their complaints to me through their commanding officers, as required by regulations, and at the same time all commissary officers were required to send me, through proper channels, a bill of fare covering the week following its preparation, showing just what the men were to have for each meal. This was approved by the captain and then sent to the paymaster of the fleet, who looked it over and sent it to me. After I had examined it and it had received my approval it was returned to the captain of the ship to be carried out.

This was well enough, so far as it went, but it was necessary to see that my orders on the subject were carried out. To be sure of this, I left the flagship with the officers of my staff, pulled to one of the battleships, and directed the captain to have a table spread on the mess deck among the crew, that we might dine with the men. At the same time I invited him and the commissary officer to join us. The table was spread exactly as were those for the men, and the food served us was the same. I did not permit any variation whatever, and in this way I knew just what the men had to eat, how it was served, etc. This custom once established, I heard no more complaints about the food. No one knew when I was likely to happen in for dinner, as I never made signal that I was coming until it was about to be put on the tables, and as I always compared what was served with the approved bill of fare, commissary officers were careful in their work. If desirable, I could to-day tell just what the men of the Atlantic Fleet had for each meal from Hampton Roads to San Francisco!

When the dinner hour came the day the President was with us in Cape Cod Bay I took him, with my staff, on board the battleship Missouri, twenty minutes before the meal was served, and requested the captain to arrange a table for us with the men. He begged that we would lunch with him, but, with the approval of Mr. Roosevelt, I insisted that we should dine with the crew, which we did. The captain wanted to give us cut-glass tumblers to drink from and napkins from his cabin, which I said he might do, provided he did the same for every man at all the mess tables! We drank out of the same kind of mugs that the men used, and we did without napkins. We ate exactly the same food that the men ate, and it was served in exactly the same way by one of the mess men who served them. The meal was an excellent one, much enjoyed by all of us, and when it was over a petty officer came forward with a box of cigars and said: "The crew of the Missouri beg that you will have a smoke with them!" I afterwards found that this custom of dining with the men occasionally had a most desirable effect in more ways than one.

After two months of trying work in Cape Cod Bay the ships were sent to different ports and leave given to the crews. Many officers were changed and new men taken in the places of those whose time had expired. About half the gun pointers who had done such excellent work on the targets left us, and new ones had to be educated. Officers who had never served in squadron, from captains down to the junior grades, reported for duty, and thus, with practically new crews, we left Hampton Roads for our winter's work in the West Indies. It was the same old story of beginning at the

preliminary stage again and then working up. In one respect, however, we were in better condition than ever before—our gun sights were at last satisfactory.

Our work at Guantanamo was a repetition of that of previous years, but of course on a larger scale, as the number of ships had been increased by the addition of four new battleships. The division of cruisers, under Admiral Brownson, had gone to the East, and had been replaced by a division of battleships under Rear-Admiral Emory. The fleet thus organised was composed of sixteen battleships and one tender, the Yankton, without any cruisers. The change from squadron to fleet organisation imposed severe work on the officers of the staff, but it was done with thoroughness and despatch.

In addition to our other work, we were now called upon to prepare for the Jamestown Exposition, at which we were to play a leading part. The officials of this Exposition had invited, through the Department of State, or, more properly speaking, the Department of State had, at the request of the Exposition officials, invited foreign governments to send their fleets to Hampton Roads to take part in the opening ceremonies of the Exposition. All these foreign officers thus became the guests of the United States, and the Atlantic Fleet was to see to it that they were properly entertained. This, of course, we knew how to do, and felt confident of success, as Congress had appropriated one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars "for entertaining foreign officers." They forgot, apparently, about the people of the United States who would have to be entertained at the same time and place, for no mention was made of

them, and the officers of the fleet entertained them, and, as usual, paid the bills out of their own pockets.

As I have stated, we knew how to entertain foreign officers, for we had been doing that at intervals all our lives, but when the order came that we were to make a success of the Jamestown Exposition we had to face an entirely new line of business in which none of us had had previous experience. We were ready, however, as we always are, to do our best to carry out our orders, and, as we were anxious for its success, we entered heart and soul into our new work of assisting the Exposition.

My orders were to arrive with the fleet at Hampton Roads on May 15th, and when our work off Cape Cruz had been completed I sailed for the north, and anchored in the Roads at 2 P.M. of the day stated. On the way up from Guantanamo I used every available hour to whip the new ships into shape. They had reported to me, one after another, and this was my only chance to give them any fleet drill before taking them to their anchorage. South of Hatteras we had a bit of a blow, which gave us all a chance to see how well the new ones behaved in a heavy head sea. They were wet, of course, as we expected them to be, but I was satisfied that even in much worse weather than we experienced they could have used their heavy guns with effect.

Upon arrival I moored the vessels of the fleet in single column, extending from a point off Fort Monroe three miles toward Newport News. The president of the Exposition company, with a committee of much beribboned gentlemen, called on me at once, congratulated me on the appearance of the fleet, and gave me a glow-

ing account of the state of readiness for the opening-day exercises. Incidentally they told me what my part in the matter was to be, or rather they started to do so, when I saved them time and trouble by telling them that I was quite well posted on that part of the programme. If talk could have made a success of the much-heralded Exposition, certainly these charming, fluent gentlemen of Virginia had the talk on tap. A glance at Sewell's Point through a powerful glass convinced me that there had been more talk than work, and that it would require the best efforts of all parties to make anything but a dismal failure of the opening exercises.

Captain Pillsbury, my chief of staff, had prepared a chart of Hampton Roads showing the anchorages assigned to all the vessels which were expected to be present, and this had been printed by the Navy Department and was ready for distribution. Lieutenant-Commander Lloyd Chandler, an officer of exceptional ability, had been ordered to my personal staff to relieve Lieutenant-Commander Brittain, whose term of sea service had expired. Mr. Chandler had commanded the flotilla of torpedo-boat destroyers sent to the East, was an expert in all torpedo work, and in his long and faithful service as my aide and secretary proved himself a loyal friend, as well as an officer of marked ability in all branches of his profession. To him was given the important duty of piloting all foreign ships to their positions and seeing them properly moored. This was in addition to his regular duties on my staff, and if any one worked harder than he I can't imagine who it was. A torpedo boat was always ready for him, and in her

he spent much of his time waiting off Cape Henry for the arrival of the foreign ships. As they came he boarded each, in company with the pilot, and either explained exactly where they were to moor or else came in with them and remained on board until they were properly secured.

All the visiting ships had arrived several days before the date fixed for the opening of the Exposition, and the combined fleet made a fine appearance, stretching in two long lines up the beautiful harbour. Our own fleet, composed of sixteen battleships and four armoured cruisers, was the strongest naval force ever assembled in Hampton Roads. Of the foreign ships, the English were the most imposing in number, but the others were all of the latest design in their respective classes. All of them, without exception, were in the pink of condition, reflecting great credit on their officers and men.

As the time approached for the opening ceremonies, the detail of landing parties to march in the parade and be reviewed by the President was worked out in every particular. The precedence of each was stated, the number of officers and men to land from each foreign ship was given, and a diagram published showing just where the force of each nation would be found on shore, so that the curious observers might easily recognise them. When all this had been done, I visited the Exposition grounds to inspect the facilities for landing such a large number of men, and to my dismay found that the landing stages had been only projected, like many other things that had been promised and fluently talked about, but that was all. We did not officially object to landing our own officers and men on the open

shore in the mud and sand and having them pass before the President wet to their waists, although we did not like such a performance, but I did object to asking our guests to do so. I therefore sent notice to the Exposition officials that unless the landing stages were in place, completed, the day before the opening, I would notify all foreign officers that their men would not be expected to land. This had some effect, no doubt, and all the bluejackets except our own reached the parade ground with dry feet.

General F. D. Grant, of the United States army, had been sent to Fortress Monroe to represent the War Department and to do the shore part of the entertaining. He established his headquarters at the Chamberlin Hotel, from which point, through his aides, he kept in touch with what was taking place on the water. It was arranged that I should land the President and his distinguished party at the Exposition grounds, and that then the general and I would personally accompany the Executive to the stand from which he was to deliver his address, to remain with him until after the troops had passed in review, when I was to see that he was safely returned to the Mayflower.

When the President arrived and had reviewed the fleet, I took him and his party ashore in my barge, properly protected by an escort of steam launches. All the bluejackets had been landed and were in their places. At eleven o'clock, the hour set, I delivered Mr. Roosevelt to General Grant on the landing at the Exposition grounds—eleven o'clock exactly, not one second before or one second after. Much to our surprise, the President and Mrs. Roosevelt were placed in a vehicle

together, and with them some of the officials of the Exposition. When they had driven away between the ranks of saluting soldiers, more vehicles came, which were instantly filled by distinguished-looking committeemen in immaculate Prince Albert suits and the latest cut of gafftopsail hats. After considerable delay, General Grant and I were pushed up into the seats of a very high trap of some sort, and the driver was requested to get on as fast as he could, that we might regain our proper post next to the President. The driver, a fine specimen of the coloured race, cracked his whip and the horses started, but not so the trap; that remained stationary in the deep, loose sand. "This here trace done bust!" said the driver. A glance at the harness, which had been tied up with rope, showed that it had "busted," and there was nothing left for us but to climb down from our lofty perch and find some other vehicle in which to cross the six or eight hundred yards of sand. Our second effort was in a Norfolk "hack," in which, by the aid of a friendly army officer and some soldiers, who thumped the horses in the ribs with the butt ends of their muskets, we progressed about two hundred yards, when we were stopped by the crowd which had passed the lines of soldiers and filled the space between us and the reviewing stand. There was nothing for it now but to walk, which we did, escorted by two sympathising committeemen. The crowd of tide-water Virginians was good-humoured, fortunately, and helped us along as best they could, but we were quite half an hour late when we arrived in front of the stand, where the Bishop of Virginia was delivering his eloquent prayer. The general and I

stood bareheaded in the blazing sun, with the perspiration pouring down on the fronts of our full-dress coats, and were glad when the prayer was ended and we could find cover in the shade, where a vast concourse of distinguished men of all nations waited to hear what the President would say in his opening address. By some mistake, enough seats for the members of the various committees had not been provided, and to correct this camp chairs were passed up and placed in the spaces set aside for the President and his party. The chairs became so thick after a while that one could neither stand up nor sit down with comfort, and before the opening address could be delivered they had to be removed, which was done with difficulty and required much time. The President finally delivered his address, which was received with enthusiastic applause by the crowd, and afterwards caused much comment throughout the country.

At a late hour in the afternoon I took the President and his party back to the Mayflower, and that night had the honour of meeting him at a beautiful dinner given by the president of the Exposition company in Norfolk. One of the foreign ambassadors expressed, in a few words, what I think we all felt about the opening day. I congratulated him on having stood the fatigue so well. His reply was, "Yes, I am alive, but only because, as a cat, I have nine lives!" It certainly was a trying day, but a most successful one for the Exposition, in view of the fact that they were anything but ready for such a ceremony. The government did all it had promised to do or could have been expected to do. The foreign ships were in the Roads, and their

crews marched in the parade; the West Point cadets were camped in the Exposition grounds with other regular troops; the midshipmen from Annapolis were landed from the practice ships to take part in the parade; and a naval brigade of five thousand men from the American fleet, the smartest-looking body of men I ever saw, marched past the reviewing stand. In a word, as I have said, the government part of the job was perfectly done. In the evening the assembled fleets were electrically illuminated, as were the grounds and buildings of the Exposition. As we returned to the Roads from the dinner in Norfolk, just before midnight, the scene was one of exquisite beauty.

Day after day, week after week, and month after month the ships of the Atlantic Fleet swung at their anchors in Hampton Roads, while officers and men devoted their time and their money to make a success of the Jamestown Exposition, as they were ordered to do. A detail of officers escorted the foreign officers to Washington, showed them the interesting sights of the city, and returned them to their ships, while the bluejackets were landed on all important occasions for parades and reviews. Each day saw an entertainment of some kind on one or more of the American ships, and details of officers were hurriedly sent to various points on shore in response to belated invitations to dance and make merry for the benefit of the Exposition. We did everything that could have been reasonably expected of us, because, in the first place, we were ordered to do so, and, in the second, because we wanted the Exposition to prove a success.

Congress had appropriated a generous sum for the

entertainment of foreign officers, but, curiously enough, had made no provision for our own people. It may be truly said that our people were the guests of the Exposition, while the foreigners were the guests of the nation, and for this reason one class was entertained by the government and the other by the Exposition company. All foreign officers were sent to Washington in parties, escorted by a suitable number of our own, and when they had seen what could be shown them they were returned to their ships, and all expenses paid by the government. But for the thousands of our own people who visited the ships from day to day no provision was made, and the cost of entertaining them fell upon the officers, many of whom could ill afford the expense this entailed.

During the stay of the foreign ships a series of dinners was given on board the Connecticut, my flagship, until all the ranking officers had been dined. At the same time the junior officers of the visiting ships were entertained by those of corresponding rank in our ships, so that every officer, no matter of what rank, received the hospitality of the government through the officers of the American fleet. The expense for all this entertainment, as well as the trip to Washington, was paid by the paymaster of the fleet on the presentation of properly prepared vouchers, just as any other public bill was paid, which was in every way proper and just. But Congress in its wisdom had failed to make any provision for the entertainment of our own people, and for this we had to pay out of our own pockets, which was a hardship to many young officers who had no income beyond their salaries.

## Duke of Abruzzi's Reception

The foreign ships in turn gave beautiful receptions and entertainments, but these were government affairs, paid for with public funds. The officers were not called upon to pay for what their governments were doing. Officers of the Exposition and other distinguished Americans could be, and were, entertained by these foreign officers as guests of their respective governments, and the bills paid as were other public bills. The senior officer of the Italian squadron, the Duke of Abruzzi, gave a fine reception with unfortunate results. How he prepared his list of invitations was not made known to me; I was only aware by the great crowd on board that it was a very general one. His cabin and the quarters of the ward-room officers were assigned as dressing-rooms for the ladies, and were crowded for several hours. When the guests had departed it was found that about everything movable had gone with them—jewelry, combs and brushes, and the insignia of rank from the officers' uniforms had vanished in the pockets of the souvenir hunters who are always on hand at such times. Many articles of value bearing the coat of arms of the Duke disappeared in this way. Most of them were, however, returned when the newspapers of the country had expressed their views of this style of robbery. We had had our experience with these souvenir hunters in past years and took precautions against them.

The visiting ships took part eagerly with our men in all the sports arranged by the Exposition officials. The English and Italians won cups or medals and the former, with a fine crew from the Argyle, won the contest for the Battenberg Cup, and the name of that ship

was engraved on the beautiful trophy. The American officers won handily from all competitors, and in the sailing races the honours remained with our men. In the boxing bouts, sixteen of which were held on the flagship Connecticut, between our men and representatives from the English ships, only one of the visitors was declared the winner.

When the time finally came for the foreign ships to leave the Roads, we parted with them with great regret. Many friendships had been formed which, I trust, will be lasting and tend to the preservation of peace among the nations of the earth, which we all sincerely hope for.

During the time we had been anchored in Hampton Roads the men had been granted liberty as often as they could be spared from duty, but there was so much to be done that they had not seen much of the shore except when marching in parade. I therefore sent the ships to New York by divisions and sent the men on leave from that port. This called forth a protest from some of the Exposition people, but the Department upheld me in my action. I again incurred the ill-will of the same parties when I sent the divisions to sea one after another for a few days' practice. The long stay in port, with the constant stream of visitors on board from morning till night, had a demoralising effect on the crews, particularly on those of the new ships just commissioned. It was only natural that they should think that naval life was all like what they were seeing while at anchor, which consisted in showing visitors over the ship, coaling ship, and running boats. It was essential, in my judgment, that some real sea work should be done, and it seemed to me that four battleships and

four cruisers were enough to remain at anchor as show ships while the others exercised outside, off Cape Henry. In this I was, of course, opposed by the Exposition officials, but I was again supported by the Navy Department. I regretted that my action should call down on my head so much unmerited disapproval from the press, but an officer often has to put up with that kind of treatment if he allows his sense of duty to interfere with the designs of those outside the service who differ with him, and in some cases wish to use him.

The time finally came when the Exposition closed, and candour compels me to say that every officer and man in the American fleet was glad when the flags came down and the gates were closed. We felt that, while we had done all in our power for its success, we had been associated, from the opening day, with a failure. Our efforts had been appreciated by the visitors, but not by the officials, and we were glad to the bottom of our hearts when we could weigh anchor and find more congenial work out on blue water.

## CHAPTER XXIX

### PREPARING FOR THE PACIFIC CRUISE

Some time during the summer, I think in the month of June, a leading New York newspaper published, under glaring headlines, a statement that the President had decided to send the Atlantic Fleet to San Francisco. The following day another leading paper denied this, and then the press of the country divided and a merry newspaper war followed. One side held that the President, in view of the friction on the Pacific coast over the school question with Japan, would not dare make such a move; that it would mean immediate war with Japan. The other side held that the President wanted war with Japan, and accused him of using this method of bringing it about, and that if the fleet sailed with the west coast as its objective, war would follow before we reached the Straits of Magellan. At first I placed little importance on these stories, because I felt that if such a movement of the fleet was in contemplation I should naturally be one of the first to know of it, but as time passed I was convinced that where there was so much smoke there must be some fire.

In due time I was sent for, and on reporting at the Navy Department was informed *in confidence* that the fleet was to sail for the Pacific when the annual target

practice had been completed, and that I was to make such preparation as could be made without disclosing its destination. I had spent many days and nights over a schedule of drills for the fall and winter, but now I must destroy that and work out a new one.

The Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Rear-Admiral Converse, was relieved at this time by Rear-Admiral Brownson, a warm personal friend of the President, who, although about to go onto the retired list, was called home from command in China to fill this important office. At the same time my chief of staff, Captain J. E. Pillsbury, who had done such admirable work in the fleet, was relieved, and my old friend, Captain R. R. Ingersoll, ordered in his place. Other changes in my staff took place, so that I found myself on the eve of a long cruise with many new faces about me.

The newspaper war was brought to a close on July 4th, when the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Metcalf, announced in a public speech at Oakland, Cal., that the fleet would come to San Francisco at an early date. The press of the country again divided, this time as to the propriety of the proposed movement of the fleet. One side held that it would be a good thing to do, and the other was equally sure that it would inevitably cause war with Japan. Some went so far as to demand that Congress should so arrange the naval appropriations that the President would be unable to carry out his scheme. Many influential papers seemed to me unaccountably ignorant of the fact that, when Mr. Roosevelt made up his mind to do a thing that he thought right to do, neither newspaper abuse nor congressional action would

prevent him from doing it. Monkeying with a buzz saw is always of doubtful propriety, and that was precisely what these opposition newspapers were doing. If they had sought a means of sending the Atlantic Fleet to the Pacific, they could not have found a surer one.

During the month of August, while exercising a squadron off Cape Henry, I received telegraphic orders to proceed to Oyster Bay and report to the President, which I did as quickly as railroad trains could take me there. I found Mr. Newberry, Acting Secretary of the Navy, and Admiral Brownson in consultation with the President. The whole subject of the cruise to the Pacific was thoroughly gone over by Mr. Roosevelt, who impressed upon us many times that the cruise was to be a peaceful one, solely for the benefit of officers and men, but at the same time he made it plain that circumstances might arise which would change this condition into one more serious. The strength of various naval forces was discussed and compared with ours, and after three hours' talk I was directed to have the fleet in readiness to sail from Fortress Monroe on December 16th. I was asked if I considered it desirable that the six destroyers should make the trip at the same time with the battleships, to which I replied that I was strongly of the opinion that they should; and it was so ordered. I also declared my opinion that the ships should proceed to the west coast *via* the Straits of Magellan rather than through the Suez Canal, to which the President gave his assent. My opinion was neither asked nor given on any other points; there was no reason why it should have been. The question of where

the fleet should go, or what it should do when it arrived, were questions for the President and his advisers to settle. My business was to see that the ships were ready to sail when ordered to do so and to conduct them safely to their destination.

After the Oyster Bay conference I returned at once to my flagship in Hampton Roads. The Exposition had not yet closed, and I had to await that event before I could move all the ships at the same time. Of the sixteen battleships composing the Atlantic Fleet, ten were new. Six of these had not yet completed their batteries, and two were not in all respects finished by the contractors. As a fleet the whole number of ships had never been under way together and had never performed a single evolution at sea. To start on a cruise of fourteen thousand miles with a fleet in this condition was out of the question, and I made my plans to give them as much preliminary drill as might be possible before going to Cape Cod Bay for the target practice which had been ordered to be completed before we sailed.

I was somewhat hampered by the expressed desire of the Department that we should practice battle tactics instead of doing the preliminary work I had laid out. Some very influential newspapers were demanding that we should divide the fleet into two squadrons and pit them against each other as though actually engaged in battle. This was done by the press, I suppose, with the best intentions, but without due consideration of the state of readiness of the new ships for such work. As has always been my custom, I gave my opinion fully when it was asked, and then did as I was told.

The day the Exposition closed I went to sea with the fleet, and for three days drilled as a fleet. Then the two squadrons, commanded by flag officers, manœuvred against each other, and during this work the conditions were made as like those of actual war as they could be. A large number of officers had come from Washington, Annapolis, and the War College to witness the battle practice, and I am sure most of them were convinced not only of the folly, but of the actual danger to the ships of undertaking such evolutions without proper and systematic preliminary work. Each morning at daylight one squadron went to sea, and when out of sight the other got under way and sought them. When sighted, the two squadrons manœuvred for position and then engaged in battle. Umpires on each ship kept a careful record of all movements, and when a ship was supposed to be disabled by gun fire or torpedoes she was compelled to cease firing and drop out of action. It was practically the same kind of work we had done in the West Indies, only there it was done with thoroughly drilled ships, and here we were using newly commissioned ships, with officers and men who had never seen the simplest evolution performed by a fleet.

When the flag officers had each commanded a squadron in several engagements, the command was turned over to the captains, and they in succession went through the same experience. Much valuable information was gained, the most important of which was how easily one ship could blanket the fire of another when not properly handled. It was also plainly evident that unless the captain could put his ship where the com-

mander-in-chief ordered her to go, and keep her there, disaster was likely to follow, and this ability to handle the ship came only after long and careful drill. It was impossible for newly commissioned ships to do it, and it was unreasonable to expect them to.

All the time possible was given to this battle drill off the Virginia Capes, and the fleet then proceeded to the target range in Cape Cod Bay. For the first time in our service we were to have a real battle practice, and, that it might be as beneficial as possible, the guns were first calibrated. It was also the first time in our navy that guns had been calibrated either for target practice or for actual service.

Upon arrival at Cape Cod Bay, it was considered that the first part of the preparation for the cruise to the Pacific had been completed—at least all the time that could be spared had been given it. The question of battle target practice was at once taken up, and no time was lost in doing this most important work. At the last moment, much to my regret, it was decided that two of the new ships must go immediately to the navy yards, as there was barely time to complete them before the date set for sailing.

While I was convinced that the cruise was to be a peaceful one, I was also perfectly certain that it might at any moment develop into a warlike one. Therefore, to start with one or two battleships in the fleet which had never fired their guns, even to test the sights, did not seem to me businesslike, yet it had to be done, and was done. It was my job and my responsibility, rendered greater by many discouraging obstacles and handicaps, to see that this fleet, though on the most

peaceful mission possible, was ready to fight at the drop of a hat.

I find it difficult to describe target practice in a way to be easily understood by the layman without violating the orders of the Navy Department not to give out information on professional subjects. However, what I shall write may be found in publications issued from the Department and not marked "confidential," and therefore, I hope, not in violation of the spirit of the regulations.

First, we have what is called record target practice, in which a careful record of each shot fired is kept and reported to the Department. This firing is done in the most careful way, one gun only being fired at a time, except in the case of turret guns, when two of them may be fired at the same time. The actual firing of the gun is done by the gun pointer, the man who would do the firing in time of war, under the general charge of the officer of his gun division on board the ship. Umpires are appointed who, under the most carefully prepared rules, watch the loading and firing of each gun and note any mistakes that may be made. This firing is for the purpose of rating the gun pointers, who receive extra pay if they make a certain percentage of hits on the target. Having once made this percentage, the pointer must, at each succeeding practice, maintain at least his rate of hitting or his extra pay is discontinued. To determine this important point annual practice is necessary.

When the target, a canvas screen seventeen feet long by twelve feet high, is spread on a float, previously moored for the purpose, the firing begins. The captain

runs his ship over one side of a triangle, so that the distance from the target varies from about two thousand yards to sixteen hundred yards when at the nearest point. A signal to commence firing is given, and each gun pointer is allowed to fire as many shots as he can in a given time. Only hits on the target screen are counted. When both gun pointers at a gun have fired, or in the case of turret guns the pointers of two guns, the ship leaves the range and passes near the target, so that the result of the firing may be seen and the hits recorded. In this way every gun pointer in the ship takes his turn, and the practice is continued until every gun in the ship has been fired. Service smokeless powder is used, but, in order to reduce the expense as much as possible, special cast-iron shells are used instead of the steel service projectile, which is of much greater cost.

This practice, as I have stated, is entirely for the purpose of training and testing the gun pointers, and has nothing whatever to do with battle target practice except to ensure the greatest possible percentage of hits. It will be seen at once that the element of time is here of the greatest value; the pointer making the greatest number of hits in the same time is considered the best shot. The term "hits per gun per minute" is its official designation. Having gone through with this practice successfully, the ship is eligible for battle target practice.

However, before this record practice each ship must have gone through with preliminary practice, in which the time element does not count. Each pointer must fire a certain number of shots, no matter how long it may take him. This is a proper test of the guns and

their mounts, as well as a necessary preparation for the more rapid firing of the record practice.

Finally we come to the battle target practice, which was held for the first time in this fleet in Cape Cod Bay during the last weeks of September and the first of October, 1907. The object of this practice was to see what the guns could do on a target representing an enemy found at sea under war conditions. Two targets, each thirty feet by thirty feet, were moored together in the bay, practically out of sight of land, and the ships in turn sent out to fire at them, using all the guns that would bear.

The range was unknown, and had to be determined by the range finders of the ship, just as they would determine the range of an enemy's ship found at sea in time of war. No firing was allowed inside a range of six thousand yards, and after the first shot was fired the distance from the target was constantly increased until the time for firing had expired. Then the ship steamed to the target and the hits were counted. When you consider that at the distance given above, the range must be known within less than one hundred yards or the shot will miss the target, an idea may be formed of the difficulties under which we labour.

After the kinds of target practice touched on above, we still have a very important one to consider—night firing, in which the targets are supposed to represent torpedo boats making an attack on the ship. In this practice, which is the most exciting and trying of all, only the torpedo defence guns—that is to say, the guns of the secondary battery—are used. During all this firing the officers and men have practically no rec-

reation. It is work of the hardest kind from daylight until dark, and frequently from dark until daylight. A large party of officers and men must at all times be afloat in boats to look after and repair the target frames, change the screens, and mark the shot holes on them, etc., and these men are constantly drenched with salt water and their faces blistered with the sun.

Yet you never hear a word of complaint from them —they know too well the vital necessity of such training.

When all the firing had been completed, the fleet was sent immediately to the navy yards at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Norfolk, to be docked and cleaned and made ready for the start. Orders were imperative that no work should be done except such as was absolutely necessary for cruising efficiency, and all officers understood that they were not to allow any grass to grow under their feet.

During the target practice in Massachusetts Bay, the subject of fire control—that is, the efficient control of the fire of all the guns of the battery—the most important of all the intricate problems to be solved, was thoroughly gone into. Many different systems of control had been installed on board ships of the fleet, generally by the officers and men of the ships, and these were exhaustively tried out. Finally, a board of ordnance experts, all of them seagoing officers of experience, was appointed by me to consider the whole subject of fire control and report fully at the earliest practicable moment. This board sat for many days, visited all the ships of the fleet, inspected the various systems in use, and then made an able and exhaustive report, which

was approved and sent to Washington. Mr. Newberry, the active and energetic Assistant Secretary of the Navy, gave it his personal attention, and as a result orders were given for the system recommended by the board to be installed on all the vessels of the fleet. It was found that the work was so extensive and of such a character that it could not be completed before the day set for sailing, but the necessary material to complete it was put on board, and the officers and men could, and did, complete it in each ship before we arrived in the Pacific.

To the layman neither the importance of this work nor the enormous amount of it can be made clear. I may say, however, that the hitting power of the guns depends absolutely upon the efficiency of the fire control, and that to install such a system miles of wire had to be run in each ship, and all this wire had to be most carefully placed to prevent short circuits and other evils of which the layman can form no idea. Then hundreds of telephones and receivers had to be procured and installed. In addition to this work, it was decided that each vessel of the fleet should be fitted with the newly invented wireless telephone. This installation was immediately taken in hand, but, like the fire control, it was not completed in time, and we put to sea with the remaining work to be done by the officers and men of the fleet. An expert from the contractor went with us as far as Trinidad and did all he could to assist us.

With the ships crowded into the navy yards for repairs, the officers and men found their surroundings most uncomfortable. As many as possible were sent on

leave, but the remaining ones had a hard time of it. Above all things, an American bluejacket likes a clean place to eat, a clean place to sleep, and a chance to keep himself clean and smart; in other words, he loves a clean ship, and he is unhappy if he cannot have it. That these conditions should always prevail on a vessel of war goes without saying, but it is a fact which none can deny that they do not exist on a vessel under repairs at a navy yard; the conditions are such as to render cleanliness and comfort impossible.

A ship goes to a navy yard spick and span—everything clean and neat and the men happy and contented; then a gang of workmen in dirty overalls is rushed on board, and trouble begins at once. Things are pulled to pieces here and there, dirt covers the decks, men are hustled about, and in many cases driven from their usual quarters, and discomfort takes charge. The families and friends of the crew come on board in great numbers, only to find themselves out of place, and this very soon brings complaint and discontent. If it be winter—and this was the case with the Atlantic Fleet—the suffering of the crew is great, not only from cold, but because the decks cannot in many cases be scrubbed, and the dirt accumulates until both the officers and men are ashamed of their ships, and well they may be. People sometimes wonder at the number of desertions in the navy. If they knew the conditions as I know them, and have so many times seen them, I think the wonder would be that there are not more. The old hands who have seen service and know what discipline means have the happy faculty of making the best of what they know will be a short period of much discomfort and

dirt, but the new ones who come to the ship for the first time naturally assume that this is the normal condition of ship life, and many of them "jump" at the first opportunity. The wonder to me is that more of them do not desert.

It may seem to the reader that the Navy Department might somehow correct the evils complained of, but the Department is as helpless as a jellyfish. Although backed as it is by the opinion of the ablest officers in the service, more than once expressed in official reports, it cannot build barracks and furnish them without money, and money can only be had through act of Congress. Some day we hope Congress will realise the crying necessity for large, comfortable barracks at each navy yard, with reading-rooms and proper dormitories —in other words, a decent home for the men. Then a ship going to a yard for repairs can transfer her crew to the barracks, house and feed them comfortably, and detail each day a sufficient number of men to guard properly the property on the ship, while the rest of the crew, after the necessary morning drills, can receive their friends or enjoy their shore leave.

One of the most important preparations for the cruise to the Pacific was so to arrange the crews of the ships that the times of enlistment of the men would not expire before the return to an Atlantic port, and so save the government much money in the matter of transportation, as each man must be returned to his place of enlistment when his term of service expires. The Department decided that all those who had only a certain short term to serve should be transferred to receiving ships and their places filled by apprentice seamen from

the training stations at Newport and Norfolk. This took from us many of our best men, some of them petty officers and many of them gun pointers, but all of them highly drilled and well disciplined. In their stead came a trim lot of young lads, most of them from the farms of the middle west, who had been hastily whipped into shape at the training stations. But with these drafts also came many raw recruits who had practically no training—who, in fact, had only been enlisted a few weeks. The number of men transferred from the fleet was so large that every man from the training stations was needed to fill their vacancies. I am sure that a finer lot of men was never seen in the navy than those sent out of the fleet to the receiving ships on this occasion, and one can easily imagine the feeling of regret with which the captains of the ships saw them go. The important and all-absorbing question was how to make the new ones as efficient as the old ones had been at the earliest possible moment.

The question of feeding so many men for so long a cruise was a vital one. In case of absolute necessity—war, for instance—we could do as we did in the Civil War—live on hard tack, "salt horse" (salt beef), and salt bacon; but the navy had come to look on fresh bread every day and fresh meat at least four days in a week as a necessity. We had found that it was cheaper to feed the men well and keep them in good health than to feed them on insufficient food, pay the hospital bills, and afterwards the pensions. Above all this was the vital consideration of keeping them fit for the very exhausting work that fell to them on board ship, and to have them ready at all times to fight

the guns if that became necessary. In other words, good food meant good men—certainly not a new discovery.

To meet the demands of the occasion, the Department utilised the two naval supply ships, Glacier and Culgoa. These vessels were entirely overhauled at the New York yard, their refrigerating plants were thoroughly refitted, their cold-storage rooms tested, and all their ordinary store-rooms put in perfect condition. Then they were packed as full of stores of various kinds as they could hold. It may be of interest to the reader to note among these stores the following: Flour, 675,000 pounds; cornmeal, 16,000 pounds; oatmeal, 6,000 pounds; rolled oats, 10,000 pounds; rice, 30,000 pounds; barley, 5,000 pounds; cornstarch, 3,500 pounds; hominy, 6,000 pounds; tapioca, 6,000 pounds; turkey for Christmas dinner, 40,000 pounds; fresh beef, 850,000 pounds; mutton, 65,000 pounds; pork loins, 140,000 pounds; veal, 100,000 pounds; frankfurters, 55,000 pounds; Bologna sausage, 35,000 pounds; fresh sausage, 45,000 pounds; head cheese, 30,000 pounds; smoked ham, 120,000 pounds; tinned ham, 30,000 pounds; eggs, fresh, 10,000 dozen; eggs, dried, equivalent of 9,000 dozen; onions, 140,000 pounds; fresh potatoes, 500,000 pounds; tinned tomatoes, 170,000 pounds; tinned peaches, 45,000 pounds; butter, 15,000 pounds; jams, 10,000 pounds; jellies, 6,000 pounds; nuts, 6,000 pounds; raisins, 8,000 pounds; coffee, 60,000 pounds; tea, 8,000 pounds; condensed milk, 75,000 pounds; evaporated milk, 14,000 pounds; pickles, 7,000 pounds; sauerkraut, 30,000 pounds; catsup, 2,500 pounds; baking powder, 1,600 pounds; sugar,

150,000 pounds; cheese, 20,000 pounds; lard, 40,000 pounds; salt, 25,000 pounds; salt-water soap, 110,000 pounds; plug tobacco, 15,000 pounds. This list is made from a list of ninety articles put on board the supply ships. In addition, there were luxuries of all sorts. Each ship of the fleet had cold-storage rooms, and these were filled to their utmost capacity with fresh meat the day before sailing. The amount taken varied from 10,000 pounds in the older ships to 30,000 pounds in the new ones, and this was, of course, in addition to the supplies carried in the store-ships. Each ship also had an excellently organised canteen, in which could be found anything, from a toothbrush to a box of candy. I am afraid to say how many tons of candy this fleet took to sea. Primarily all these good things were for the men. The government does not feed officers; they must pay for their food or go hungry; but on this cruise we were allowed to draw stores from the general supply and pay for them. This buying, however, can only be done while the men have plenty and to spare. As soon as there is a threat of shortage, the officers must go without.

I have found that many of our countrymen believe that the government clothes and feeds us in addition to paying us our salaries. I always take pleasure in telling such kindly disposed thinkers how wrong they are; that the government pays us our salary only, and then deducts twenty cents a month from that for fear that we may some day fall ill and have to be sent to a hospital. Every officer and man in the navy has to pay twenty cents a month into the hospital fund, and yet the government of the United States could afford to

pay twenty millions of dollars for the Philippine Islands, which we held by the best title known to man —the right of conquest. It is sometimes hard to recognise the eternal fitness of things!

In addition to the reserve supply in the store-ship, each vessel of the fleet started with her own storerooms full, which was in most cases sufficient for three months. The Bureau of Supplies and Accounts certainly deserves great credit for the way this vast amount of provisions was supplied and put on board, and too much cannot be said for those firms who prepared them. We gave every man in the fleet his proper ration of good, wholesome food every day, from Fortress Monroe to San Francisco, and, notwithstanding the fact that we twice passed through the tropics on the way, the stores last served out were as good as they were when first placed on board. Although it is the right of sailors to growl—and they never fail to do it when there is the least ground for it—I heard of but one complaint about food during this cruise. A newspaper clipping, containing a letter from a man on one of the battleships declaring that bad ham had been served to the crew, was sent to me from Washington for investigation. In this letter to his mother the youngster declared that ham which was spoiled had been given the men to eat. I sent for the captain of the ship, and from him learned that the men of his crew had heard of the letter and had called the writer to account for having written what every one knew to be untrue. The captain had brought the lad on board with him, and when I asked him what he meant by such conduct he said that he had written it in fun to his

mother, and had no idea that it would ever get into print.

Unfortunately there are a number of newspapers in the country which will publish any yarn sent them, and the more exaggerated and untrue the contents the better they seem to like it. Ever since I first took command of a ship I have been most careful in looking after the welfare of the crew, and, I am glad to say, the men have not hesitated to bring their troubles to me for settlement. So when this complaint came I was perfectly sure there could be no truth in it, or some of the older men in the crew would have appealed to the captain, and if necessary to me. There was a time when our men were very badly treated in the matter of food, but I am glad to say that time has long since passed.

We had learned the value of a properly fitted repair ship during the Spanish War, and the Department agreed to send one with the Atlantic Fleet. The Panther was, accordingly, fitted out for the purpose, and suitable machinery and appliances placed on board. She proved most efficient, and paid for herself several times over before we saw the Golden Gate. These auxiliaries, store and repair ships, were of more interest to the many foreign naval attachés who visited them than anything else in the fleet. The Panther was fitted particularly for making castings, which the battleships, though having excellent workshops, were unable to do. Besides this, she carried spare parts of machinery such as were most likely to give way on the large ships, and also propeller blades for the torpedo-boat destroyers. The work done by this ship reflected the greatest credit

on the men who fitted her out, and her excellent commanding officer was deservedly most popular with all hands for the efficient way in which he met the numerous demands made on him. The destroyers could not have made the trip as they did had it not been for the Panther.

The last of the auxiliaries to be prepared for service was the Arethusa, water ship. Her function was to act as mother ship to the destroyers and, when possible, supply fresh water for the boilers of the battleships, which could be carried in their double bottoms, and thus save the coal that would be used in distilling water to make up the waste feed of the boilers. She was too slow to keep up with the destroyers, and was seldom called upon by the battleships, but she was of value in carrying oil, of which we required for the cruise one hundred thousand gallons, and other heavy stores, such as cordage, etc. I was surprised to find that my requisition for rope to be used in coaling the fleet could not be completely filled, though we bought every foot of four-inch rope in the market. The motors which operate the coal whips are driven at very high speed, and the rope falls are cut up and destroyed in the most surprising way. The fact that the fleet took the entire supply in the market, and did not have any too much, would seem to point to the necessity of keeping a supply on hand.

## CHAPTER XXX

### THE DEPARTURE FOR THE PACIFIC

EARLY in December I issued orders for the fleet to assemble in Hampton Roads on or before December 10th, but, as some of the ships were delayed in docking, this was later changed to the 12th. On the day mentioned all had arrived and were anchored in line of squadrons—two lines, with eight ships in each line. All the coal that could be stowed was taken in and a generous supply of fresh water pumped into the double bottoms. On the 14th and 15th the last of the fresh provisions were taken in, and the great fleet was ready for sea. The hotels at Fortress Monroe were crowded with visitors, families of officers and their friends, who had come to say good-bye and see us off on a record-breaking cruise. We danced and made as merry as we could, but at times the faces of officers and men gave evidence that it was hard to leave the dear ones, and that long years of the same heart-breaking process had not made it any easier. The dignity and self-control of the navy women, some of them brides of only a few weeks, was a striking feature of the occasion. But that is what American men expect of their American women, and they are never disappointed.

Owing to the comparatively small coal capacity of the destroyers, the flotilla sailed before the battleships.

The itinerary for them was different from that of the main fleet—so arranged that they could run from port to port without worrying over their coal supply, and finally meet the battleships at Rio de Janeiro. Their inability to carry provisions for any considerable time had also to be considered in arranging their ports of call.

The President had decided that he would come to Fortress Monroe in the Mayflower to review the fleet, say good-bye to the officers and men, and see us off on our long cruise—an honour which every officer and man felt deeply and duly appreciated. The morning of the 16th came with leaden skies and a promise of bad weather. The fresh, cold north-west wind made boating ugly work, but somehow we believed in Roosevelt weather, and sure enough it came. As the Mayflower approached the fleet, the rails of the ships were manned, the officers paraded in special full dress, the marine guards presented arms, the bands played the national air, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. As the reports of the saluting guns died away, the clouds parted, the sun came out, and ushered in a most beautiful day. It was, indeed, Roosevelt weather. The Mayflower anchored in the midst of the fleet, and all the flag and commanding officers repaired on board at once to be greeted by the President and the distinguished people who accompanied him and to say good-bye to them.

As I passed over the gangway I was met by the President and greeted by him in his usual hearty and courteous manner. A battery of cameras clicked and snapped as Mr. Roosevelt gave me a few last instruc-



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Admiral Evans. President Roosevelt. Admiral Thomas. Admiral Sperry. Admiral Emery.

Commanders of the Pacific Fleet with President Roosevelt.

tions, and I am sure no expression of his face or mine escaped these energetic workers, who in pursuit of their calling often make themselves most annoying. For the first time I was authorised by the President to say to the officers and men of the fleet that, after a stay of a few months in the Pacific, the fleet would return to an Atlantic port *via* the Suez Canal.

This message was conveyed to them by signal the first night out, and announced to the officers at the ward-room dinner. One of the newspaper men sent the message to his paper by wireless, and it was published the following morning. Afterwards I saw that Mr. Loeb had promptly denied that the President ever authorised any such statement. Mr. Loeb is undoubtedly one of the best men who ever served as secretary to a President, but I am sure I could keep him busy for a long time denying things if I published everything the President has said to me. On this occasion it was plain from his manner that Mr. Roosevelt felt deeply the importance of the step he had decided to take, and which had centred upon the navy of the United States the critical attention of the whole world.

The same may be said of Admiral Brownson, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, who accompanied him—an officer who, from long and faithful service and unexcelled ability, deserved to hold the position he did of confidential adviser to his chief. Both of their faces were serious, but not troubled, and it was plain that, while feeling somewhat the difficulties before me, they had no doubt of the successful accomplishment of my task. I was most gratified to have the President say to me, as he did, " Remember, Admiral Evans, you sail

with the confidence of the President more completely than any admiral ever did before. Your cruise is a peaceful one, but you realise your responsibility if it should turn out otherwise!" With those words ringing in my ears, a hearty handshake, "Good-bye, God bless you!" from the President, and the clicking of the cameras, I left the Mayflower and returned to the Connecticut, my flagship. Mr. Metcalf, the Secretary of the Navy, was on board the Mayflower, but unfortunately ill, so that I could not say good-bye to him.

As soon as the President had said good-bye to all the officers, the Mayflower got under way and stood slowly out of the harbour. I made signal for the fleet to weigh by squadrons in succession, and in eight minutes after the signal came down the Atlantic Fleet was under way and forming column, not again to anchor in home waters until it reached the coast of California. It was certainly a grand and impressive sight, and one to make any American heart swell with pride—these splendid, great ships, in the pink of condition, much overloaded though they were, picking up their anchors and turning, under difficult conditions of tide and wind, with mathematical precision. The wives and sweethearts on the beach waved their handkerchiefs and cheered, the bands played "The Girl I Left Behind Me," and the great white ships, in perfect order, went on their way.

The Mayflower, with the President's flag flying, led the fleet out of Hampton Roads, and so perfect was the formation that, looking back from the flagship, but one ship could be seen, the positions of the others being indicated by the dense columns of black smoke from

their stacks. When in proper position in the lower bay the Mayflower anchored, and the fleet, with rails manned and officers in special full dress, passed in review, each ship firing twenty-one guns as she passed. When the last ship had fired her salute, the head of the column was three miles away receiving the cheers of the people massed about the houses on Cape Henry. Our last farewell had been said, and the long line of overloaded white ships stood out to sea on their course to Trinidad, our first port of call. One look at the fleet would have convinced any professional mind that our cruise was to be a peaceful one, for the ships were loaded with extra men, extra stores, extra amount of fresh water, and extra ammunition, until their water-line armour belts were either submerged or, in the case of the Connecticut class, awash. The only fault to be found with this condition was that it made the ships unhandy and required a larger expenditure of coal to maintain their cruising speed of ten knots per hour. Of course, if an engagement had been in sight this condition would not have existed.

The morning of December 17th found us well into the Gulf Stream, off Hatteras, proceeding at ten knots, in cruising formation, to the south. All hands were delighted to be on blue water once more, and the warm, soft air of the Stream was most welcome after the cold, raw weather of Fortress Monroe and the northern yards. But when the sick reports were signalled at 10 A.M., the annoying side of the picture was shown. One ship reported twenty-six cases of measles, another a dozen cases of mumps, another had chicken pox, and another scarlet fever. Indeed, I found that about all

the children's diseases known were in evidence among the recruits from the training stations, and all these had to be eradicated before we arrived at Trinidad or the fleet would have to ride out a quarantine, which would seriously interfere with our itinerary. Able doctors, isolation wards, and disinfectants soon cleared the atmosphere, and in the beautiful weather south of the Gulf Stream all the sick people, except a few serious cases, were soon on their feet and taking their rations with relish. On the morning of the second day out white uniform was ordered, and we did not again wear blue until we approached the Straits of Magellan, a few weeks later.

During the run of seventeen hundred miles the drills were constant; indeed, several kinds of drills were taking place at the same time. The interval between the squadrons was increased to fighting range, so that the gun pointers could keep their sights on an actual ship, and the range-finder crews were given hours of practice each day and, later, at night. In order to standardise the propellers, which had never been done at so great a draught, each ship was required to keep station most carefully and report each half hour the actual number of revolutions she was making as counted on the bridge. This was checked from the flagship, whose speed was regarded as standard. The gun drills were most carefully and persistently followed up by the ordnance officers, and every effort made to have the men ready for action at the earliest moment.

As we approached the West Indies, the Missouri was sent into San Juan to land a sick man who might

have some chance for his life if he could have hospital treatment. She was only just out of sight when the Illinois reported a case of meningitis, and no hope for the man unless he could be landed at once, so she was sent into Culebra, where we have a hospital, and both ships ordered to rejoin off Sail Rock, in the windward passage, which they did the following day.

On the afternoon of December 23d the fleet passed through the Dragon's Mouth into the Gulf of Paria, and just after sunset anchored in column of divisions about five miles from the town of Port-of-Spain. The colliers were waiting for us, and also, much to my surprise, the destroyers, one of which had met with an accident. The Panther took the disabled boat in hand and soon had it ready for sea again, and at daylight of the 24th the first division began coaling. Notwithstanding the tremendous heat, the coal was all in and the decks washed down before night, greens obtained from shore for dressing the ships, turkey and other good things served out from the store-ships, and all hands were ready to enjoy their Christmas on the morrow. In the meantime all official calls had been exchanged with the officials on shore—a duty which always demands much time and patience. After calling on the governor, Sir Henry Jackson, who was far from well, I established myself and the other flag officers of the fleet at the Queen's Hotel, and there received his return call, after which we all dined at Government House and were most hospitably entertained.

Christmas Day was most carefully observed, only absolutely necessary work being done. The crews had the usual sports—boat races, etc.—and after a good

dinner four thousand of them visited the town. On the 26th, 27th, and 28th the three remaining divisions were coaled to their utmost capacity for the long run to Rio, the divisions not coaling giving shore liberty to their men from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M.

On the afternoon of December 29th the fleet was again under way, and, passing out through the Dragon's Mouth, headed south for its longest run. Before leaving I received from the governor a note, from which the following is an extract:

"I ask to be allowed to offer my congratulations on the irreproachable behaviour of your men on leave. A residence for years at Gibraltar, a rendezvous of the fleets of the world, has given me much experience with Jack ashore. I can assert that your men established a record hard to equal and impossible to beat."

A pleasant run brought the great armada to the equator during the forenoon of January 5th, and there Neptune, whose flag was flying from every ship, met us and welcomed us to his domain.

Of all the old customs of the navy, the only one that will probably survive and last for all time is the initiation of landsmen who cross the "Line," as the equator is called, for the first time. The ceremonies, like the custom itself, are practically the same in all the navies of the world, but do not, so far as I know, obtain in the merchant service. In an age of change, when all precedents are disregarded and old customs and traditions forgotten, it is pleasant to know that this one, so long observed and which gives pleasure to so many, may still hold its place.

As the fleet approached the equator on the evening

of the 4th of January a messenger from Neptunus Rex boarded each vessel, interviewed the captain, and, having received his permission for his Majesty to visit him on the morrow, took his leave. During the night of the 4th each ship was fitted with a large canvas tank near the forward turret, so arranged that from a tilting barber's chair on the rim of the turret the one to be initiated could be tumbled head over heels into the water, which, as it leaked out, was being constantly renewed by several lines of hose. All those to face Father Neptune were sure of a good cool bath, if nothing more.

When the position of no latitude was reached on January 5th, the flag of the Monarch of the Sea was broken out at the signal yardarm on every vessel of the fleet, and King Neptune, followed by his suite, boarded each ship over the bows and marched aft to the quarter-deck, in the presence of the assembled crew, to make his call on the admirals and captains and obtain their permission to conduct his ceremonies. Great ingenuity had been shown by the "old hands" in preparing the many costumes necessary for the occasion, and the "march aft," as it is called, produced much laughter and applause from those who saw it for the first time. But there were many serious faces among the young recruits, who looked forward with some anxiety to the time when they should fall into the hands of these fearful-looking monsters of the deep, who were constantly threatening dire things to those "landlubbers" and "haymakers" who ventured to invade their domain without permission.

Father Neptune in every case knew the officers and

men whom he had met before, and he welcomed them with a few kind words, mentioning the name of the ship in which each had sailed, and wishing them a fair wind for all time. So perfect were the costumes of the King and his court on board the flagship that I failed to recognise a single man of the more than fifty who constituted the suite. I presented them with cigars enough to keep them going, wished them a successful day, and the frolic began. Seats had been arranged on the forward bridge for the officers who had crossed the line before, and from this point we observed the ceremonies. The day was exceedingly hot, and we were all dressed in our thinnest white uniforms. After I had been watching the fun for several hours I felt a peculiar cold wind blowing on my back, which so chilled me that I was forced to retire to my cabin, where in the evening I found myself helpless with an attack of inflammatory rheumatism, which caused me intense suffering, often recurred, and eventually compelled me to give up the command of the Atlantic Fleet —a misfortune which might well break the heart of any flag officer who loved his profession as I have always done.

Before leaving the United States the "old hands" had provided the certificates for Neptune to sign. They were handsomely printed on sea-green paper, and made very pretty souvenirs for the recruits to preserve. Indeed, I should not say "recruits," for there were many men, and officers as well, who had been around the world several times—men of many years' service—who had never crossed the equator. This may be easily understood after a glance at the map, where it will be

seen how one leaving San Francisco can cross the Pacific, proceed through the Mediterranean, and so across the Atlantic to New York without once crossing the equator, and this many officers and men had done. When once the Panama Canal is completed, the equatorial ocean regions will be much more lonely even than they are now.

King Neptune always offers the officers the privilege of paying their footing—that is, contributing so many cigars or so many bottles of beer instead of being regularly initiated; but on this occasion the midshipmen decided that they would take their medicine with the rest, and they were the first to receive the rites—that is to say, to be shaved by the barber with a long wooden razor, and then to be tumbled into the bath, where the "mermaids," "sharks," and "porpoises" saw that they were thoroughly and properly ducked. The ward-room preferred to pay.

As each man of the crew received his ducking he became an energetic recruit in the ranks of Neptune, and joined the sea policemen, who with stuffed clubs were searching the ship for those attempting to escape the ordeal. This was particularly the case with many of the coloured men on board who were serving in the capacity of mess men. None was allowed to escape, and as I looked on I could very easily tell the men, both black and white, who had in any way made themselves offensive to the crew. Such persons came out of the tank pretty full of soapsuds and salt water! But in no case was any man maltreated or injured. It was a harmless form of hazing to which I gave my hearty approval. When all hands had received his attention,

the certificates were signed and presented by Neptune, and the fifteen thousand men of the fleet were at last proper men to sail the salt seas. I doubt if so many men ever before crossed the line at one time, and I know that a finer lot of clean-cut sailor lads were never assembled in one fleet.

Once across the line, the question of coal supply became a very serious one. Theoretically, the supply in the bunkers should take us safely to Rio with several hundred tons to spare, but what about the equatorial current, and how could we best avoid it? After a careful study of all the charts and sailing directions by the chief of staff and myself, it was decided to stand well out to the eastward to avoid the strength of this current, but when this had been done we found a knot and a half and sometimes two knots per hour against us.

The Maine was eating up coal at an alarming rate, if I could rely absolutely on her noon report each day, and one of the new ships had the same undesirable tendency. I have seen considerable service in battleships, and I knew that their engine-room forces were, like those of other ships, given to coming out ahead on the coal question, and I had never been caught at sea completely out of coal, so I did not allow the situation to trouble me much. When the new ship mentioned above seemed to be approaching the danger line in coal consumption, I made signal to her that when her coal on hand was reduced to a certain amount the Kansas would take her in tow, and that ended the trouble! Her coal consumption was immediately reduced to that of other ships of her

class. It seemed to me that even the most economical ships lowered their consumption as a result of this signal. We arrived in Rio, as all now know, without trouble and with a comfortable reserve of coal in our bunkers.

The question of how to improve the efficiency of the firemen of the fleet was one that had given me much serious concern. They were not up to the standard established by the men at the guns, and I determined to make them so if possible. With the assistance of the able officers of my staff, a comprehensive general order covering the whole subject and giving full details was prepared and issued. Competition among all the ships of the fleet was demanded by the order, and suitable rewards offered provided Congress could be induced to give us the necessary small sum of money—about two thousand dollars. This order was issued at Rio, and from the time we left there until we reached Magdalena Bay resulted in a saving of fourteen hundred tons of coal, which, in dollars and cents, at the contract price of coal, was enough to pay the prizes to be awarded for four years. Congress did not, however, give us the money, but the Navy Department and the service generally highly approved of the order, and we live in hope that some other Congress will treat us better.

Before the fleet sailed from Hampton Roads I had seen several letters giving information that we were to be blown up and sunk on our way to the Pacific, the first attack being promised for Rio and the second in the Straits of Magellan. All the letters that I saw were anonymous, dated in Canada, and named either

the Japanese government or the Japanese as the ones who were going to do us up. It seemed to me strange that the Japanese government should tell these men without names in Canada when and how they were going to destroy the battleships of a friendly nation! And I am free to confess that I considered the whole story unworthy of notice. As to the attack to be made at Rio, the channel leading into the harbour was to be mined, and as we passed over them the mines were to send us all to our last account.

Having had some little practice in planting mines, I was sure it could not be successfully done without considerable outlay of money and equipment of ships, boats, etc., and all this must be done without the consent of a friendly government to whose capital we were about paying a visit. In the attack to be made in the Straits of Magellan the mines were to be secured to floating driftwood, and as we steamed through this floating timber were to do their deadly work. But as I had no intention whatever of running the Atlantic Fleet over driftwood in the Straits—in fact, I never saw any such thing there—I gave this story even less thought than the Rio one. One of the letters also placed Japanese submarines in the Straits.

All the captains and flag officers had been informed of the foolish stories given above, and directed to take all proper steps for the protection of their ships. To take any real steps, such as might lead the Brazilians to think that we for a moment believed ourselves in any danger, would be an insult to that nation which could not be thought of. Merely as a matter of form I sent

my tender, the Yankton, and the supply ships and one collier ahead of the fleet, so that they might explode any mines in our way!

On January 12th, as we approached the entrance to the harbour, the Yankton sent a wireless message that she was on her way out with important despatches for me. When all the despatches and letters had been read, I found only one item of importance: I was warned to look out carefully for the safety of the fleet, as an attack was threatened, but this time it was to be done by anarchists, and not by the Japanese. Some of the letters gave a list of the men who were to blow us up, but there was not a Japanese name on the list. They were all Brazilians, and, as it turned out afterwards, several of them were among the most respectable business men of Rio! The chief of police of Rio was looking up all those connected with the plot, and in this way it became known, the names made public, etc.

In the end it appeared that there never had been any plot to blow the fleet up or harm it in any way, which was my opinion from the first. But on the theory that where there is smoke there must be fire, it was necessary and proper that every possible precaution should be taken, and this was done. It became known that a vessel was loading in a German port with phosphorus for a match firm in Rio, and those who had the story in hand made it appear that this cargo was to be used in making high explosives with which to destroy the ships. Just how this was to be done was not explained—it was not necessary, as the interested parties had probably received their pay before this stage of the

game was reached. Phosphorus is often used for the destruction of water bugs and roaches on seagoing ships, and this cargo, which had caused so much trouble, or at least a considerable part of it, was purchased by the Atlantic Fleet and used for that purpose.

## CHAPTER XXXI

### AROUND SOUTH AMERICA

When we were about twenty miles from the entrance to the harbour we were met by a division of the Brazilian navy, under command of a flag officer, sent out to welcome us and escort us in. Salutes were fired, messages exchanged, and much cheering indulged in while the bands played national airs. In perfect formation the fleet stood into the beautiful harbour and received the hearty welcome of the hundreds of thousands of people who had assembled to greet us. Amid the booming of the saluting guns, the music of many bands, and the cheering crowds, the "White Messengers of Peace," as Mr. Roosevelt called us, passed on to their anchorage, and the second and longest run of the cruise had been successfully completed.

As soon as the anchors were down the colliers, which had arrived ahead of us, were called alongside, and coaling began at once. The crews all knew that a generous amount of liberty was waiting for them when the coal had been taken in and the ships cleaned up and made tidy, and they required no urging. The appearance of the ships was in sharp contrast with what it had been at Trinidad before sailing from that port. Practically all the coal in the bunkers had been con-

sumed on the passage except in the Connecticut class of ships, and the red water-line armour belts of all of them showed several feet above the water. It was a fine object lesson for all hands, and a fair warning that if we were ever caught in this empty condition on the eve of battle we might expect much serious damage from projectiles entering below this belt. Many officers were amused afterwards in reading the testimony given before the Senate naval committee that on the arrival of the fleet at Rio the Connecticut's armour belt was completely under water! Indeed, there was a lot of testimony given at that time before the committee that caused many officers to smile and wonder!

The reception of our fleet in Rio de Janeiro was most cordial and friendly by all classes, from the President of the Republic to the smallest shopkeeper. Brilliant receptions were tendered and magnificent balls and dinners given by officials and private citizens, which were attended by all the officers who could be spared from duty. The conduct of all classes was such as to indicate a true feeling of friendship, and I believe this was general throughout the country. The representatives of the two great republics fraternised and came to know each other in a way that promises well for the future relations of the two countries. The entertainments were lavish and the festivities such as to make a most lasting impression on all our people. As I was in the hands of the doctors at the time, I requested Admiral Thomas, second in command, to represent me in all the civil functions, and it is unnecessary to state that he did it in a way to reflect the utmost

credit on the country and the fleet. The navy has produced few men the equal of the late Rear-Admiral C. M. Thomas in all that goes to make an officer and a gentleman.

The question of how best to manage the great number of men on liberty so as to prevent any trouble or scandal was one that required careful consideration. While our men, as a rule, are self-respecting and well-behaved while on shore, there will always be found a few who are disposed to make trouble, and in a case like the one before us, where neither side understood the language of the other, a small row could quickly grow into a serious riot. To prevent anything of the kind, I requested through the proper channels that I might be allowed to land a patrol force to look after our own men and act with the police of the city in preventing disorder.

This request was promptly granted, and the scheme worked so successfully that it is now generally followed. It had been successfully tried at Trinidad. Instead of asking or allowing the police force of the city visited to handle our men, I sent a patrol composed entirely of men of the seaman branch, generally masters at arms and other petty officers, in charge of a commissioned officer. Marines were never sent, because the men would like nothing better than to have fun with them!

When the patrol was landed, the officer in command communicated with the chief of police, and, as a rule, quartered his men in the police stations. From this point the city or town was easily watched, and as soon as the men showed any disposition to make

trouble they were marched to the dock, where a boat was always in waiting, and taken off to their ships. There was no disposition to resist or fight with this patrol, for the men knew how such conduct would be treated! During the entire cruise we never left a place where the men had been landed without words of praise from the authorities for the way the bluejackets conducted themselves and the way our patrol was handled. The experience for the young officers was most valuable.

It had been my intention to sail from Rio on January 21st, but, finding that a mail was due from New York on the following day, I postponed our departure in order that the fifteen thousand officers and men might have the last words from home before starting on the long run to Callao, where our next mail was due. When the mail reached us on the 22d much unfavourable comment, as well as great amusement, was caused in the fleet by the announcement that a pilot, one "Captain Greene," who had served on an army transport, was to join and pilot us through the Straits of Magellan. Some of the home papers printed rather caustic articles protesting against this humiliation of the navy, and giving the commander-in-chief rather a severe lecture on his contemplated show of ignorance and incompetency. It was learned afterwards that some retired naval officers in New York City had proposed the publication of one of these severe articles. Good souls! They, at least, with their knowledge of the naval service, should have known how silly such a proposition was. The swivel-chair habit must have affected these "Sons of Rest" seriously before they

could have brought themselves to such a state of mind. Suffice it to say that Captain Greene, if there ever was such a person, did not put in an appearance, which was fortunate for him, as rather a cool reception would have met him if he had.

On the afternoon of January 22d, in the midst of a tremendous thunder-storm, with torrents of rain, the fleet got under way and stood out of the harbour, being reviewed by President Penna and a distinguished company of officials as we passed the forts at the entrance. All Rio seemed to be afloat, but the heavy wind squalls soon drove the small craft to shelter with their crowds of enthusiastic, cheering people. The Brazilian Fleet, which had carefully attended us by day and guarded us by night against the threatened anarchists' attack, was under way before us and escorted us to sea. Many salutes were fired and friendly messages exchanged before the Atlantic Fleet disappeared in the mist and rain, after the most notable visit ever made by a naval force to the capital of this prosperous South American republic.

The flotilla of torpedo-boat destroyers, after being put in complete order at Rio by the Panther, had been sent on ahead to make a visit to Buenos Ayres. The depth of water in this harbour was not sufficient for the battleships, and we all regretted that we were not to visit the Argentine Republic, always so friendly to our country. The American minister at Rio had notified me that a division of Argentine ships would meet me off the coast of that country to exchange greetings, and on Sunday, just before noon, I sent the following wireless message:

"To Rear-Admiral Oliva: Fleet, eight o'clock, latitude 35 degrees 35 minutes S.; longitude 52 degrees 40 minutes W. Steaming south 31 degrees W. magnetic; speed ten knots."

Two hours later came the following reply:

"To Rear-Admiral Evans: The commander of the San Martin Division of the Argentine Navy salutes Rear-Admiral Evans, his officers and men, and transmits to him the position of the Argentine Division ordered to meet him as by dead reckoning 36 degrees 56 minutes S.; longitude 53 degrees 41 minutes W. Hipolito Oliva."

Early on Monday, after the exchange of very cordial messages, the Argentine ships—four cruisers—appeared on the horizon astern, with the flag officer at the head, in column formation. Steaming at twelve knots, they soon drew up on us, and, in order to give them a good look at us, and let them see just what we were like, I changed our cruising formation from line of squadron at half interval to column, and in this formation, with distances perfectly maintained, bands playing, and crews standing at attention, our new friends passed from the rear of the column to the head.

As the flagship of Admiral Oliva, the Belgrando, drew up abeam of the Connecticut, she saluted me, which was immediately returned. I knew of no precedent for such a ceremony, but in order to be sure of not failing in courtesy, hoisted the Argentine flag and saluted with twenty-one guns, which salute was, of course, promptly returned. In passing us at a distance of about four hundred yards the officers and men of the Argentine Division had had a fine chance to see

what our ships looked like, and how they might be able to make the Monroe Doctrine, which Secretary Root had lately talked to them about, appear to any one who wished to question it. Admiral Oliva courteously offered to transmit any message I might have for my government, and immediately changed his course and stood for his own country. His ships were at double distance, admirably handled, and appeared trim and very businesslike.

We ran into foggy weather off the coast of Patagonia on the 29th, and officers and men were shifted into blue uniforms; overcoats, even, were very welcome in the night watches. January 31st found us in sight of Cape Virgin, and, as the weather-beaten lighthouse bore abeam, the following unsigned message was picked up by the ever-watchful wireless operator:

"Welcome, American squadron, distinguished."

At four o'clock in the afternoon the fleet anchored in Possession Bay, in the Straits of Magellan, to wait over night for favourable weather and tide for the run to Sandy Point.

Long before reaching Cape Virgin I had requested the captain of the flagship and his navigator to submit to me a chart showing the courses he proposed to steer in making the passage through the Straits. This was done, and, after giving it a careful overhauling in consultation with my chief of staff, I approved it and directed that it be carefully followed.

The fleet was under way at 4 A.M. on February 1st, and in the afternoon anchored in line of squadron off the town of Punta Arenas, where we found the Chilean

cruiser Chacabuco, flying the flag of Admiral Simpson, who had been sent to the Straits to welcome us in the name of his government. He had courteously given passage to the American minister to Chile, who came to welcome us there, as we were not to stop at any other Chilean port. Coaling was, of course, the first thing to be done, but while it was going on there was a constant round of entertainments and many official calls to be made and returned, all of which was attended to by Admiral Thomas.

Punta Arenas, the most southern city of the American continent, so far as we know, may at least boast of its latitude if of nothing else. It has been said—and I suspect truly—that one can find here deserters from every naval service in the world and, in addition, men of every nationality, who, for one reason or another, prefer to keep out of range of the Pinkertons and police generally. If they came here for pleasure, it is difficult to understand their point of view, and if they came to find a loafing place, for idleness as a pastime, they certainly were badly advised. Of all the places I have seen, Sandy Point appears to be about the last in which to make a living.

From the water the town has the appearance of a tropical town, composed of small corrugated-iron houses, but without the show of vegetation which counts for so much in the general effect of tropical places. It has the advantage, however, of an excellent water supply, and the climate is all that could be desired by those who like cold weather all the time. The summer is short and never hot, and the winters long and very cold. Hard gales of wind, with plenty of snow

and ice, are of daily occurrence, and yet the population steadily increases—not by reason of natural increase or growth, but because of the influx of the gold seekers who have heard of the great value of the far-southern mines, only recently discovered.

I found that since I had last passed through the Straits in the Yorktown, seventeen years ago, the town of Punta Arenas had more than doubled in size and now had over 12,000 inhabitants. Very rich gold mines have been discovered on both sides of the Straits, and are being profitably worked; vast flocks of sheep are raised on the mountain sides, and several large refrigerating plants ship frozen meats to Europe and South American markets, which accounts for the growth of the place and promises well for its future.

I had thought, probably hoped, that there would be no entertainment to face at Sandy Point, but in this I was mistaken, for even here one more link was added to the chain of hearty welcome that was to extend to the full length of the cruise. The governor first gave a reception at his beautiful home on shore, to which all officers were invited. Then followed a dinner on the Chacabuco by Admiral Simpson to the flag officers, and finally a dinner on board the same ship for the petty officers of the American fleet.

The government of Chile in all this showed the warm feeling of friendship she entertains for the great republic of the north, and we fully appreciated the feeling and the unusual way in which it was expressed. Among those who were anxious to entertain us was a colonel in the German army and his charming wife, who had come all the way from the Chilean capital to

welcome us. He was, and is yet, I believe, preparing the army of one of the smaller South American republics to surprise her larger neighbors when the war which all are expecting actually comes.

Large liberty parties were sent on shore from the ships which were not coaling, and the men had a good opportunity to stretch their legs and look the town over. Some kind friend—I afterwards heard it was the Chamber of Commerce—had put up a large sign which read, "Special Prices for the Fleet," and they were special—specially high—but the American bluejacket has somehow the faculty of guessing at the correct value of things, and after the kindly warning of the sign he was on his guard not to pay more for furs than they were worth, and furs were about the only article, except postcards, offered for sale.

Among the officers of the Chacabuco was a young lieutenant who had just completed a survey of a part of Smythe's Channel, where he had found some anchorages for torpedo boats and other small vessels, heretofore unknown. This survey had not yet been charted, and when the lieutenant kindly offered to accompany the flotilla, under command of Lieutenant-Commander Cone, I gladly accepted his offer, and he was made comfortable on the flag boat and afterwards landed at a Chilean port. The information given by him was of great value to our officers.

At eleven o'clock, the night of February 7th, the fleet got under way and stood to the westward through the Straits. To guard us against the threatened submarines and driftwood mines the destroyers were stationed on either flank of the battleships, while the

auxiliaries followed in rear of the column. The Chacabuco, Admiral Simpson's flagship, acting as escort, took station on the starboard beam of the Connecticut, my flagship. The battleships were four hundred yards apart from foremast to foremast in each division, and the divisions at double distance, or eight hundred yards. In this formation we passed through the Straits without trouble or accident, though at times the fog and mist shut out the shores entirely and even the ships from each other. When in the proper position, signal was made to the destroyers to proceed on duty assigned, which meant that they were to part company with the fleet and, passing through Smythe's Channel, go on their way north. About four o'clock in the afternoon the fog shut in thick, and we had to feel our way with the lead. At 9 P.M. the long Pacific swell told us just where we were, and soon after the course was changed for Valparaiso.

On our arrival at Punta Arenas both Admiral Simpson and the American minister delivered messages from the President of Chile requesting me to visit Valparaiso or, if that was impossible, to come close enough to the harbour to let the people see the fleet. Our itinerary called for a straight run from the Straits of Magellan to Callao, but I felt that I should comply with the request of President Montt for many reasons, and was confident of the approval of my government if I did so. I informed Admiral Simpson that I would stand close into the harbour of Valparaiso, pass at reduced speed in front of the city, and that I should consider it an honour if the President could be afloat, review the fleet, and receive a salute. At the same time

I arranged the day and hour when we would be there, so that extra trains might bring to the city those who desired to come. All this was wired to the President at Santiago, and he expressed his thanks and satisfaction at our action.

For several days after clearing the Straits the weather continued thick or foggy, but the compasses had been so carefully adjusted, both at Trinidad and at Punta Arenas, and the revolutions of the propellers so standardised on the way from Hampton Roads, that the ships kept accurate positions without the least trouble. When the fog lifted they were all in place as if tied on a line. On the 12th Admiral Simpson ran into one of his home ports for coal, and on the 13th rejoined the fleet, bringing with him a flotilla of torpedo boats as an additional force to act as our escort. On the 14th, at the exact hour appointed, the Atlantic Fleet passed across the harbour of Valparaiso, led by the Chacabuco, while the Chilean torpedo boats formed on our starboard beam and kept all small craft out of our way. So perfectly was the whole thing arranged and carried out that not a single boat of any kind passed beyond the prescribed line.

When we were all in front of the city and very close in, signal was made to salute the Chilean flag, and at the same instant the sixteen ships fired the first gun. Our movements had been so timed that the last gun of the salute was fired in time to give a few minutes' interval before we should have to fire the personal salute to President Montt, who was, with other officials of the government, on board the training ship General Banquedano, anchored well ahead of us. The crowds

of people from all parts of the country covered the hills about Valparaiso. On one prominent grass-covered point a company of sailors in white uniform was so arranged as to spell the word "Welcome," which was afterwards changed to "Farewell." The whole scene was most beautiful and impressive.

As the Connecticut, leading the fleet, approached the General Banquedano, the rails were manned and a salute of twenty-one guns fired, while the guards presented arms and the band played the Chilean national air. The same ceremonies were observed by each ship as she passed the President, and as the Kentucky, the rear ship of the column, fired her last gun the flags came down together, and all took up the cruising speed of eleven knots. It was estimated that over five hundred thousand people witnessed the review. Many cordial messages were exchanged, and it was most gratifying for me to know that the good feeling between the two countries had been restored in a measure through the appearance of a splendid fleet which I had the honour to command, for my last visit to this port in a small gunboat had not been as friendly as could be desired. One more South American republic had been afforded an opportunity to see how well prepared we were to enforce the Monroe Doctrine if any one wished to test it.

On the afternoon of July 19th the Peruvian cruiser Bolognesi announced by wireless that she had been sent by the President of Peru to meet us and escort us to our anchorage in the harbour of Callao. Our position was made known to her, and after a few hours she joined us, and we anchored in the inner harbour at 8.30

A.M. of the 20th. Messages of courtesy were exchanged, salutes fired, and official calls were made, when the Peruvians proceeded with an elaborate programme of entertainment carefully prepared to show their well-known admiration and friendship for the United States. For ten days the officers and men of the fleet were simply swamped with kindness and hospitality. I am sure nothing like it was ever before experienced by the ships of any nation. The President of the republic twice visited the fleet, and on the morning of the 27th boarded the Bolognesi and stood out to sea to review us as we passed on our way to the north. Our reception had been all that a most generous and friendly people could give to their neighbours.

## CHAPTER XXXII

### ON THE PACIFIC COAST

At 8.30 A.M., March 12th, the fleet anchored in Magdalena Bay two days ahead of schedule time and actually in better condition in all respects than when we left Hampton Roads. The long cruise had been of great value to all hands, much had been learned, and most valuable experience gained in many ways. One captain very aptly put it when he called on me and I said to him:

"Captain, I hope your officers have learned something on the cruise."

He replied:

"Thirteen thousand miles at four hundred yards, night and day, including the Straits of Magellan; yes, they have learned a lot!"

The moment the anchors were down a large gang of men, under direction of the able and tireless fleet ordnance officer, Lieutenant-Commander McLean, began assembling the rafts and getting the targets ready for use. They were not delayed in their work by any cheering crowds or offers of generous hospitality, for a more desolate, quiet spot it was never my misfortune to visit. There were, it is true, some shacks on shore which offered bad brandy and worse cigars for sale, but we were not in search of these articles and our

own supply ships were on hand, and from them we obtained every article necessary for health and comfort.

We anchored on Saturday, and on Monday morning the first range was ready, and firing began on that day. Before the end of the week all the ranges were ready and one division of ships was firing. It was hard work day and night, but the men worked willingly and great progress was made. The bay was full of splendid fish, and the shore in many places abounded in wild fowl of various kinds, so that the officers and men who could be spared from duty had fine sport and supplied their tables with a generous amount of fish and game.

It is, perhaps, a waste of time to surmise what might have been the fate or present condition of Magdalena Bay if the United States had secured it with the rest of California. That it is one of the most admirable bodies of water anywhere in the world for purposes of naval drill, all who have seen it admit, and it is but reasonable to suppose that the gallant naval officer who really gave us California, had he dreamed of a Panama Canal, would have recognised the strategic value of this great bay and secured it for his country.

With three great naval stations on the Pacific coast —Bremerton, Mare Island, and Magdalena Bay—the control of the commerce of the Pacific would have been more easily assured in case the navy were ever called on to decide the question. The outlook now is that this is one of the questions to be settled by the laws of trade—a question of dollars and cents, so to speak—but business methods are sometimes of such a questionable

character that military force is necessary to correct or uphold them.

Looking forward to the day when ships may pass from ocean to ocean through a canal owned and operated by the United States, it seems only good policy to seek to acquire by purchase this important station. And this should not be difficult, for it is of no value to Mexico, the present owner, for she has no navy to speak of, and it seems impossible to imagine why she should ever create one.

The lieutenant-governor of the province was on board a small Mexican gunboat anchored in the bay on the occasion of the visit of the fleet. He had come to extend a welcome to us, and he did it in a most hearty and friendly way. When he had dined the flag officers and as many of the captains as could be seated in his limited quarters, a return dinner was given him and his officers, and a few days later he was taken on board a battleship to witness target firing.

I think he and those with him realised, as did all on the west coast who saw the Atlantic Fleet, that the control of the Pacific and the protection of the coast was absolute so long as this fleet remained. President Roosevelt had made this point very clear to all the world, and I think it was time to do so.

Among the inhabitants of Man-of-War Cove, Magdalena Bay, there was but one American family. The head of the family was in charge of a ranch of some two hundred and fifty thousand acres belonging to an American company. The wife and the daughter were his companions, and certainly showed their devotion by remaining in this lonely, barren spot. All the fresh

water used by them had to be brought in breakers a distance of sixty miles by sail boat. For food they had plenty of fresh fish, but the rest of their diet was from tins. News of the outside world is brought in only occasionally.

Since our ships make frequent visits to the bay, always by permission of the Mexican government, the lot of these good people is not so hard. Any attempt to supply them with anything in the food line, however, is difficult on account of the local custom-house, but I found water and ice on the free list, and I supplied them and the few Mexicans on the beach with these luxuries.

During the stay of the fleet at Magdalena Bay our wireless outfit was severely taxed. We had a very large amount of official matter to be sent to Washington every night, and in addition those representing the various news associations were anxious to get their news through in time for the morning editions of the newspapers. The Point Loma wireless station at San Diego, nine hundred miles away, had to handle all this matter, and it was a severe test of their efficiency, but they accomplished it somehow. From our end of the line we had to divide up the time—so many hours for official business—and then another ship, the Minnesota or the Kansas, would take hold of the press despatches and rush them through. Of course, there was some growling, but as a whole the work was satisfactorily done.

While at Magdalena Bay the amount of mail concerning the different entertainments for the fleet on the west coast was enormous. The time of arrival and

stay at each port had been published as soon as word was received from the Department in Washington, and all the different committees from a dozen or more ports wrote to tell just what they intended to do for us and what they wanted us to do for them. Of course, this meant much troublesome working out of details, but fortunately for me I had on my staff some of the ablest officers in the navy—men who could tackle successfully that or any other problem.

The arrangements to be made for San Francisco were more complicated and difficult than for any other port, so Mr. Frank Symmes, the chairman of the committee on reception of the fleet for that city, came down to Magdalena Bay and spent several days on the Connecticut. During his visit my chief of staff, Captain Ingersoll, and my secretary, Lieutenant-Commander Chandler, went over the whole subject with him and made all arrangements, so that when he went back he was able to report to his people just what was to be done.

On April 10th the fleet left Magdalena Bay for God's country once more. Target practice had been completed, the ships coaled and painted, and everything made ready for the wonderful reception awaiting officers and men at the ports of southern California. The records showed that every ship in the fleet except one had improved in accuracy and rapidity of fire since the last record practice, proving beyond question that we could have engaged an enemy any hour after passing the Straits of Magellan with a fair hope of success, notwithstanding our green recruits, most of whom were now strong, handy sailormen.

I had been compelled after the target practice to leave the fleet temporarily and seek relief from my sufferings at Paso Robles Hot Springs. Admiral Thomas, as senior officer present, assumed command, and in the most admirable manner conducted the big sixteen up the coast, where they received from the warm-hearted, hospitable people of California and the west the most wonderful reception that has ever been extended to the naval force of any nation. The officers and men of the fleet will never forget and will always recall with gratitude the splendid hospitality accorded to them by their warm-hearted countrymen from San Diego to San Francisco.

On the way to Paso Robles, General Chaffee and a committee of citizens from Los Angeles boarded the train and talked over arrangements for the reception of the fleet at that port. I gave orders for the Yankton to be placed at the disposal of the general and his friends when the fleet was sighted off San Diego, so he could consult in comfort with Admiral Thomas and arrange all details. This plan was carried out, and the perfect manner of the reception in all its wonderful details was but the natural result of the labours of two such remarkable men as Thomas and Chaffee. The mere mention of Chaffee's name with any enterprise is a guarantee of its success, and we all know what Charley Thomas was.

From my beautiful apartment at the Hot Springs I was in direct communication by wire and telephone with Admiral Thomas as soon as he arrived at San Diego, on the afternoon of April 14th. Able surgeons, professional skill, loving hearts, and willing hands did

all that could be done to bring me back to health, so that I might be present when the fleet arrived, but the damage was too severe to be repaired in so short a time, and I was reluctantly forced to give it up.

Admiral Thomas received for me the beautiful jewelled box containing the key to the city gates and the freedom of the city, and also the sword presented by the Grand Army posts of southern California and the Morgan Post Confederate Veterans. God bless you, old white heads! That sword will make me feel a little moist about the eyes as long as I live.

Governor Gillett, with his full staff, received Admiral Thomas at San Diego and extended to the fleet the official welcome of the State of California. The people of all classes offered the unofficial welcome, and that it came from the hearts of a loving, patriotic people no one for a moment could doubt.

Officers and men alike felt that once more they were among their own people, and however grand and hospitable our reception had been in foreign ports, this, after all, was the true home-coming. The stay of the fleet at San Diego was for only four days, but during that time hundreds of thousands of people had an opportunity to see the ships and the men who manned them.

On April 18th the sixteen white ships anchored within striking distance of Los Angeles, the first division at San Pedro, the second at Long Beach, the third at Santa Monica, and the fourth at Redondo.

The good people of Los Angeles did not ask the men to parade on shore, but they said, " Come and see

us and let us entertain you!" The men went—three thousand five hundred of them every day—and this number sat down to most excellent and wonderful dinners. Five thousand pounds of stall-fed beef, barbecued and served with chile con carne; five hundred pounds of Spanish beans, three hundred pounds of fresh butter, hot rolls by the thousand, and two splendid navel oranges for each man! This was one of the things Los Angeles did for the men of the fleet, and the ladies of the city served the meals.

On the 5th of May I rejoined the fleet, and had the honour and pleasure of leading it through the Golden Gate on the following day. Two new battleships joined off the lightship on the night of the 5th, so that the fleet consisted of eighteen battleships, besides the flotilla of destroyers and the auxiliaries, when we steamed to our anchorage in the beautiful harbour of San Francisco. Words cannot describe the wonderful sight when this fleet was joined by the ships of the Pacific Fleet, under Admiral Dayton, and the whole force stood up the harbour, made a long, graceful turn, and anchored in line of squadron.

On the 7th of May I was able to ride in the parade through the streets of San Francisco, escorted by the Salt Lake City high-school cadets, who had come a long distance to do me that honour. The cheering crowds, composed of hundreds of thousands of people from the country west of the Rocky Mountains, were most enthusiastic in their welcome and did everything in their power to show their appreciation of the men who had come fourteen thousand miles to assure them that they were part of the United States and would



The Pacific Fleet entering the harbour of San Francisco.

receive the same protection in case of necessity as the people of the east.

The doctors decided for me that I must relinquish my great command, and on May 9th my flag came down, and Rear-Admiral C. M. Thomas took my place.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

### ON THE RETIRED LIST

THE great fleet committed to my care had safely completed the first stage of its wonderful journey, and would complete the rest of it just as well without me as with me in command, but to say that I was content to leave it would not be telling the truth. That I had to relinquish command was one of the sorest disappointments of my life, and it was only at the urgent advice of the doctors that I did so. They warned me that if I continued in active service I would probably lose my life.

Mr. Roosevelt had told me at Hampton Roads that I was to continue in command until the fleet returned to an Atlantic port. When it was impossible for me to do so, the following letter from him gave me great comfort:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON, March 23, 1908.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL:

It is with very great regret that, at your own request, I relieve you from command. You have now practically finished your active service in the United States Navy, and you have brought your long and honourable career, identified to a peculiar degree with the whole history of the Navy, to a close by an achievement which marks the entrance of the United States

into the rank of naval powers of the first-class. In your early youth, as a young officer, you won a reputation for signal gallantry in the Civil War. You have closed your career by conducting a great battle fleet from the North Atlantic to the North Pacific in a manner which has shown you to be a master of your profession. The fleet comes to San Francisco in better shape than when it left Hampton Roads—better fit for service in every way; and the officers and men owe no small part of their improvement in their profession to the mastery of your profession which your handling of the fleet has shown.

With thanks, congratulations, and good wishes, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

*Rear-Admiral Robley D. Evans, U. S. N.,*
*Commander-in-Chief North Atlantic Fleet,*
*Care Navy Department.*

The officials of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company and the officers of the San Francisco reception committee arranged for my transportation to my home, and the trip east was made with great comfort. My wife, one of my daughters, my son, and three members of my staff accompanied me, and the car was furnished with every luxury. The faithful surgeon, McDonald, who had cared for me on the cruise, was still with me, and did all that medical skill could do to relieve my suffering. When the train had started from Oakland I was told of the death of my only grandson, Robley Evans Sewall, son of my daughter Virginia, wife of Mr. Harold Sewall, of Boston. My namesake had been dead a week, and yet not a word or intimation of the sad news had been allowed to reach me because of

the work I had to do and for fear of its effect on me. How those about me managed to keep every mention of the child's death out of the newspapers, and above all how they kept smiling faces for me when their hearts were breaking, may not be told here. When the cruel blow came the blue all went out of my sky, and it was my turn to face with a smile the crowds that cheered me on my way. That the precious young life around which so many hopes centred should be taken is one of those mysteries which may be solved in the world to come; certainly it never can be in this.

At every station where the train stopped, in the daytime or early evening, the people gathered to wish me a speedy recovery and thank me for what I had done in taking the fleet on its long cruise. In many places I found that the public schools had given a holiday, so that the children might have an opportunity to see me, and they were certainly an attractive sight as they gathered about my car. The bright young faces made my heart glad, but the most impressive thing of all was the fact that in every case they carried the flag of their country and seemed to feel the importance and dignity of doing so. All of these young people had made the mistake of giving too much credit to one man for the cruise of the Atlantic Fleet, and the same mistake had been generally made by all the people. I did what I could to correct this by telling them, whenever I could, that one man, no matter how able and willing he might be, could not take one battleship anywhere, much less could he take sixteen; that it had required the best effort of fifteen thousand officers and men to bring the fleet safely from Hampton Roads to San

Francisco, and that every one of them should have due credit for his work.

As we passed through the middle west the enthusiasm of the people was very marked, but as we came through the eastern states this gradually diminished until we reached Baltimore, where it was nothing. This was the natural result of circumstances. In the east naval officers and battleships are seen every day, and their comings and goings make little, if any, impression, but in the west this is not the case, and the movement of the fleet from ocean to ocean meant much more to the people of the country west of the Rocky Mountains than it did to those east of them. The people of the Pacific coast states had been greatly disturbed by the rumours of war with Japan, and these foolish rumours had spread and carried their disturbing effects to the whole country west of the Mississippi. When the fleet had passed the Straits of Magellan these rumours died at once, and when the people actually saw the ships and the splendid men who were ready to defend all Americans at any moment, they felt that we had saved them from a great danger, and they were enthusiastically grateful for it. The people of the eastern states had no occasion for such a feeling, because no such danger, real or imaginary, ever threatened them.

The enthusiasm of the people of the Pacific coast was caused by many things combined, but the chief reason for it was, I think, that they fully realised for the first time that they were as much a part of the United States as was any other section of the country, and that the power of a great government would, when neces-

sary, be exerted in their behalf. The feeling of brotherhood which this brought caused them to swell with patriotism and to cheer for the men who wore the national uniform.

As a matter of fact, there was serious danger of trouble with Japan until the President took the positive action he did to control the threatened legislative action of some of the Pacific coast states. Japan would never, in my opinion, have declared war on us until every peaceful means had been exhausted to redress the wrongs complained of by her citizens, but that she had strong provocation no reasonable man can deny. While the people of California have a right, which no one can question, to regulate their schools as they see fit, it must at the same time be evident that they have not the right to do anything that will interfere with the treaty rights given the Japanese by the United States government, and this is just what was threatened, if not actually done. Few foreign governments, or I should say the people of few foreign countries, understand our state rights under the general government. This was clearly shown a few years ago when a number of Italian citizens were executed in New Orleans. Sooner or later this same thing will cause serious trouble with Japan unless the rights of her citizens are more carefully observed in our western states. A proud and sensitive nation, flushed with victory in one of the most remarkable wars of modern times, cannot be expected to have her citizens classed as inferior to those of other countries and treated as such. Yet this is what was proposed to be done on the Pacific coast.

If we as a nation are prepared to take the consequences, the surest remedy for the threatened trouble would be to forbid the entry of any Japanese into the United States, but this would be such a barbarous outrage toward a people for whom we are in such a marked way responsible that I think no one will entertain the idea for a moment. Our relations with Japan have always been so friendly and our commerce with her so important that some other remedy must be found. We must not demand from her any rights for our citizens which we are not in turn willing to accord to hers. We always face a commercial struggle with her, as well as with others, for the control of the trade of the Pacific, and this contest will grow more and more bitter as time goes on. When the Congress of the United States grants a subsidy to American merchant ships, which it certainly must do some day, and American vessels begin to compete with the subsidised ships of other nations for the trade of the Pacific, the situation with Japan will become delicate and acute, and it will require real statesmanship on both sides to prevent serious trouble. It seems to be the general feeling that friction with Japan alone is probable over the question of trade control in the Pacific, but this does not seem reasonable to me. The Germans are making tremendous efforts to increase their carrying trade, not only in the waters bordering their own country, but all over the world, and in considering the trade problems of the Pacific we must remember that Germany has two colonies in that ocean—one at Samoa and the other in the Caroline Islands—and that the advantage she thus has will not be abandoned without a

bitter struggle. Friction with her is, therefore, quite as likely as with Japan.

After a comfortable passage across the continent I arrived at my home in Washington, where the doctors took a look at me and decided that I should go on leave for a few months to regain my health. I had lived too long in a steel box, and it would take time to restore what I had lost. Lake Mohonk, in New York State, seemed to offer just what I was looking for—rest, quiet, and good bracing air. When my leave had been granted I made my plan to spend the summer in that delightful place.

I called on the President to pay my respects, and was most cordially greeted. Mr. Roosevelt assured me that he had done everything in his power to have me made a vice-admiral, but that he had failed because of the opposition of two members of the Senate naval committee. I assured him that, while I should have considered it a great honour to be commissioned a vice-admiral, I was not disappointed at not securing the honour, as I had never expected it. There had been much talk before I sailed from Hampton Roads that I would be advanced in rank before reaching San Francisco, but I knew the members of the Senate naval committee, at least some of them, and I knew also the peculiar influence that would prevent the creation of the grade of vice-admiral, and I felt confident that the honour would never come to me. Therefore I was not surprised that the efforts of the President had failed.

Admiral Dewey thought that I might be of service in connection with the general board, and I was accordingly ordered to that duty, where I served until

my leave was granted, when I left Washington and spent the summer at Lake Mohonk. As the time for my retirement drew near—August 18th—the guests of the Lake Mohonk Mountain House decided to present me with a loving cup, which was done with touching ceremonies. I was profoundly touched by this expression of feeling on the part of so many of my countrymen, and in my leisure moments on the retired list I shall recall with pleasure their kindly words of approval.

In the meantime I shall always hold myself in readiness to serve my country, should the occasion arise, either on the retired list or again in active service if that should be demanded of me. For forty-eight years my life has been at the call of the flag I love, and it will remain so as long as I live.

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